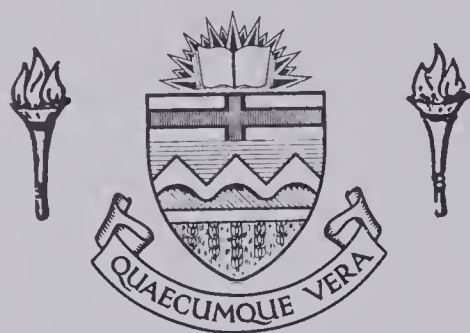


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MIGRANTS AND MIGRATION IN PART OF THE
SOUTH PEACE RIVER REGION, ALBERTA



by

Glenda R. Lamont

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Geography

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Migrants and Migration in Part of the South Peace River Region, Alberta," submitted by Glenda R. Lamont in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

Proceeding from the general hypothesis that there are observable regularities in some aspects of migration into towns, the purpose of this research was to identify and describe such regularities. Characteristics of the migrants and their move are considered independently and in their relationships.

Data were gathered from a sample of in-migrants to three towns in the South Peace River Region of Alberta--Grande Prairie, Spirit River, and Beaverlodge, during the period 1965 to 1968. Tabulation and cross-tabulation of the variables enabled the identification of five migrant types according to age and occupation: the young professional-technical migrant; young operatives; young craftsmen and foremen; managerial workers aged 35 to 40 years; and the older retired migrant.

In general, the younger, more highly educated, in higher-status occupations appeared to be more mobile than the Canadian population as a whole. They also tended to move further than other migrants. Migrants often came from less than 50 miles, and a substantial proportion also moved 200 miles or more. The latter were generally from larger places than the former, who were often the older, retiring group. Economic motives were the dominant reasons for moving and for choice of destination. The relative importance of this factor, however, varied with age, family size and structure, and occupational characteristics of the migrants. About one half of those sampled regarded their move as permanent.

The effect of migrants on their destination is dependent upon the extent to which they are different from the population into which they are injected, as well as upon their volume. In turn, in-migrants help to form the character of that destination, thereby making it more attractive for certain types of potential migrants than for others. A migration schema which shows the relationships among the variables considered is proposed.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Migration has become a phenomenon of wide interest and implications. Its many aspects allow almost unlimited scope for research in several disciplines. The problems of rural depopulation and urbanization are two of interest to agricultural economists and sociologists, as well as to geographers, and it is within the first two fields of study that most research has been done. Most of these studies have focussed on the effects of migration on the migrants and on the rural sector of the economy. There is need, however, for research into the more geographical aspects of migration--the journey itself and the effects of migration on the recipient areas.

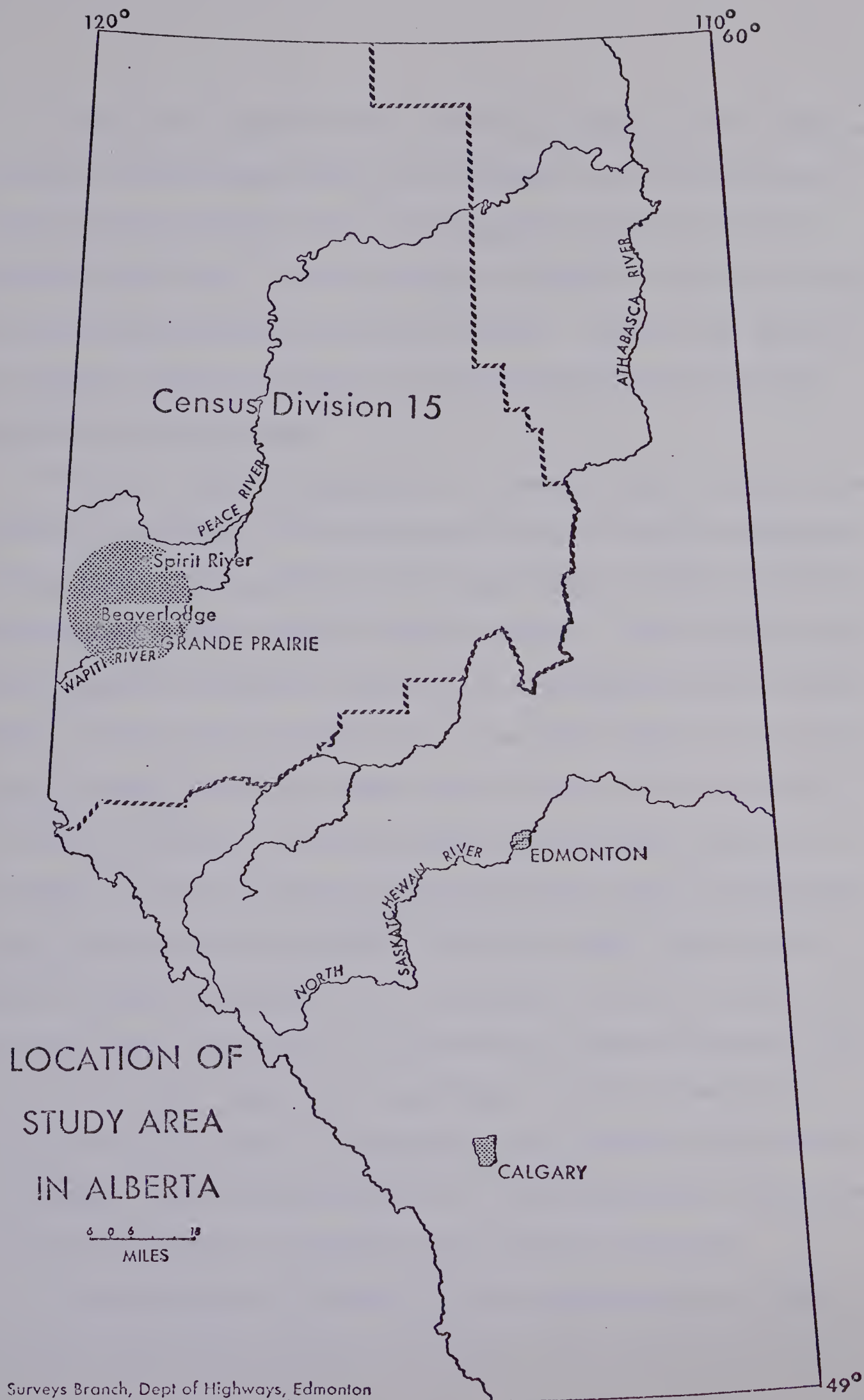
In the Prairie Provinces of Western Canada, the original dispersed pattern of agricultural settlement has remained predominant outside the major urban centres. Numerous small towns and villages exist primarily to serve this scattered agricultural population. In such a region, changes resulting from all three types of migration (internal, immigration, and out-migration) achieve perhaps greater relative importance than in a highly urbanized area, since migration is a very real factor in the growth and decline of the many small centres. In addition, migration has a significant impact on the overall pattern of settlement in the region, and its implications for the processes of regional planning are therefore widespread.

The purpose of this research, then, is to determine the character of the migration into towns in a prairie setting such as described above, and to determine what, if any, relationships exist among the variables describing the migration and the relationships between the nature of the migration and the character of the place of destination. It is suggested that there are observable regularities in the characteristics of the in-migrants to a given destination, in the conditions of their move, and in the relationships between these two factors. Also, the nature of the destination is thought to bear some relationship to the characteristics of the in-migrant and to his journey. The study will attempt to formulate some generalizations concerning trends in migration to small centres, and the effects of migration on the character of these centres.

The Study Area

Several factors suggest that the settled part of the southern Peace River region of Alberta provides an appropriate regional framework for this study. (Figure 1.1.)

The "Peace" has been recently settled, relative to other parts of the Canadian prairies and Alberta. Furthermore, expansion of the settled area for agriculture is still occurring. The pattern of settlement is thus in the first stages of its evolution. Unlike the earlier-settled parts of the Province, there is both expansion and internal reorganization of population in the Peace. In other areas, changes in settlement patterns are primarily the result of internal reorganizations.



Source: Surveys Branch, Dept of Highways, Edmonton

Figure 1.1

Because the region has been relatively recently settled within an otherwise more developed economy, the processes in the evolution of a stable settlement pattern may be occurring more quickly than would otherwise be the case. For this reason, the stages in the process should be easily distinguishable and clearly visible. They may also appear to be of greater magnitude because of the shortened time-period through which they are taking place.

That the Peace is recognizable as a separate unit or region is an advantage for research. This arises from the fact that its boundaries are natural--the change from cultivable agricultural land to non-arable land delimits the outer edges of the Peace Region. These natural boundaries, coupled with the fact that the area is separated from the continuously settled portion of Alberta by a non-arable barrier of land more than one hundred miles wide, impose upon the region the characteristic of relative isolation. It has been aptly described as a "pocket" of settlement. This isolation has undoubtedly been a factor contributing to the slow settlement of the area--diffusion outward from the continuously settled agricultural area having been broken by the barrier of non-arable land. The effect of this barrier on present migration, both into and out of the Peace may be significant. Another aspect of its being an isolated "pocket" of settlement is the identity which accrues to the region from this characteristic. This identity may or may not be relevant to the nature of migration into and within the area.

In its structure, the Peace is fairly representative of a predominantly agricultural economy in Alberta. It is characterized by a

dispersed agricultural population, serviced by numerous small rural centres. Portions of the region are of greater than average prosperity, while other parts might be termed depressed and of only marginal agricultural potential. The presence of non-agricultural resources allows that alternate economic bases may be developed. Urbanization trends in the Peace are evident, despite the continuing expansion of agricultural settlement. That these two processes occur concurrently is further evidence of the larger, more developed economy of which this region is a part. It suggests also a broadening of the economic base within the region, rural to urban migration, and in-migration. Herein lies the importance of the role of migration in town growth, for it is the character of the migration that conditions its impact on the recipient centre.

Literature Review

General background to the study of internal migration is found in an article by O. D. Duncan in Population Theory and Policy, Selected Readings (1956) and in "Internal Migration" by Donald Bogue (1969). The former, however, is directed more specifically to the migration of farm population than to migration in general, as is much of the early work in internal migration. The Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Rural Life and Agriculture's report on the Movement of Farm People (Province of Saskatchewan, 1956) offers a good overview of migration as it relates to the rural economy. It briefly considers most of the variables dealt with in greater detail by other authors. As to the reasons for migration,

we may look to several sources for the same general ideas.

" . . . [M]igration acts as a mechanism for partial adjustment of population distribution to the location of economic opportunities" (United Nations, 1953, p. 172), or migration " . . . is a method for preserving an existing system. . . ." [Bogue, 1969, p. 487.] The Saskatchewan Royal Commission's Report on the Movement of Farm People (1956) puts forth the same theory, relating migration to the resources of an area, but reference here is restricted to rural depopulation. MacDonald (1955, p. 119) also limits his comments on migration theory to the context of farm migration, saying it is " . . . a major aspect of a long historical 'process of integration.'"

Everett Lee's article, "A Theory of Migration" (1966), defines migration and distinguishes four factors in the act of migration: factors associated with the area of origin; factors associated with the area of destination; intervening obstacles; and personal factors. He suggests that the stage of one's life may result in different evaluations of positive or negative factors in migration, and in greater or less evaluation of them. Thus a given set of obstacles varies in its effect for each migrant. Lee reviews in detail Ravenstein's Laws of Migration, formulated almost a century ago to describe the changes in the distribution of population in the United Kingdom as that country changed from a dominantly rural to an urban industrial society. He concludes that they still are useful today.

Julian Wolpert (1969, p. 159) proposes that a suitable approach

to migration analysis is through the definition of an ". . . appropriate set of profile groups [a grouping of individuals or households relatively uniform in terms of a mover-stayer decision] with maximum predictive power." He suggests that the most mobile group, and one among which there is substantial homogeneity of migrational behavior, is one in which the head of the household is 29 years or less and is highly educated.

The majority of articles deal with socio-economic aspects of rural migration. An early study by Landis (1946) of migration in the State of Washington considers the role of education in the urban adjustment of rural migrants. He found that urban youth is more mobile than rural youth, but of the latter group, those best educated are most likely to migrate. Gladys Bowles (1957) emphasizes rates of rural farm migration in the United States, relating it to potentials for absorption into other communities. This potential varies as age, sex, colour, education and occupation. She determines a variation in rates for given migrant characteristics among thirteen economic regions of the United States. Beijer's book, Rural Migrants in Urban Setting (1963), stresses the sociological adjustment of migrants to an urban community and way of life. He includes European studies by country. The characteristics of those migrants leaving farming are also dwelt upon in "Trends in Farm Abandonment" (Noble, 1962) which, once again, as the title suggests, is restricted to farm migration and the effects on agriculture. Marion Clawson (1966) emphasizes the amenities of the urban setting as being important in attracting rural migrants from the grain farming and corn belt areas of the United States. The focus is upon the increasing role

of the need for services. Those services which can be utilized only where they originate (e.g., certain government services) are of recent origin and growth, and may be significant in the decrease of rural farm population. Economies of scale in group services are especially important for the level of agglomeration of the town. Scale also increases the quality and variety of services available. Clawson's discussion suggests a possible question of "which comes first--the services or the people?" Abramson (1968) proposes that agricultural conditions are major reasons for leaving the farm. We might conclude that she considers the push out of agriculture a greater force than the pull of an urban setting, in a decision to leave the farm. C. F. Bennett (1967), in a study of farm operators in one county of the State of New York, has found the statistically significant factors associated with the shift from full-time to part-time farming combined with another job to be farm income, farm income per family member, farm operator age, and proximity to numerous non-farm jobs. Analysis of these variables could help to explain an increasing number of non-resident farmers, and the growth of certain towns and villages.

Both Baumgartner (1965) and Buckmire (1966, p. 26) are primarily concerned with potential mobility out of agriculture. Buckmire's study deals specifically with the Bonnyville area of Alberta, while Baumgartner's data base was a sample of farmers in two counties of Minnesota. Buckmire suggests that the sociological factors of mobility are major causes of the low rate of out-migration and that "certain areas are less responsive to push and pull forces and there is a tendency for labour to

accumulate on the farms and in small rural settlements." He also states that the ". . . small rural villages and towns of less than 1,000 are too small to generate economic growth." This implies that the migration of farm population into communities within the area is not likely to remedy area problems. He concludes that the decision to migrate results from a complex of relationships among variables, but that on the basis of three variables it is possible to differentiate between potential out-migrants and those unwilling to migrate. These variables are: attitude toward farm and non-farm occupation; knowledge of job opportunities; and size of farming operations. Among those willing to leave, age showed a high correlation with other social and economic factors.

Michael Szabo's studies in the Canadian Prairies (1966a, 1966b) have both regional and systematic relevance to migration into towns. In his study of productivity in agriculture and off-farm migration, he undertakes an identification of areas of farm population imbalance on the basis of over-predicted incomes and under-predicted out-migration. He emphasizes that it is neither the poorest nor the most prosperous farmer who is most mobile, but rather the relatively prosperous who has a chance to do better and is able to finance a move. In an article on the characteristics of non-resident farmers, Szabo says, "It is found that non-resident farming is . . . the result of social adjustments in agriculture affecting both young people (under 35) and older people in the retirement or semi-retirement categories (65 and over) [1966b, p. 279]." He poses the question of what are the areal differentials that characterize the occurrence of non-resident farmers. An interplay

of factors associated with the type of farming is related to their incidence. Szabo also found that income differentials for non-resident farmers were significant at high and low levels. He suggests the hypothesis that the ". . . number of communities offering superior amenities within a reasonable distance of farms is limited" and that this could check large-scale increases in the operation of farms from towns and cities (1966b, p. 303).

Horace Hamilton (1951) stresses the relationship of population pressure to migration from farming, especially at the age of youth entering the labour market.

Several studies are concerned mainly with the effects of distance on migration. Stouffer (1940, p. 84) has formulated the theory that the ". . . number of people going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of intervening opportunities." Following from the early work of Hagerstrand (1957), a number of scholars have studied migration streams with special reference to the interrelationships between distance, opportunity, and volume of migration. Olsson's study (1965) is methodological and involves the testing of the relationship of distance of migration to other variables (age, income, characteristics of the place of residence, and population size of the places of origin and destination). His hypothesis that migrants from small places move shorter distances than migrants from large places is strongly supported by his study. The third article, by Christian and Braden (1966), proposes the application of the gravity model to rural migration. These authors classified their migrant sample into social categories and the distribution of each

category was compared for towns in the study area (a rural French administrative district) with what would have been expected from the gravity model. The regression line obtained when results were plotted showed that the correlations were generally high. Further analysis showed that the importance of job opportunities in migration is the key to the validity of the use of the gravity model for migration studies.

Growth, size distribution, and patterns of towns have been topics of research which are related to migration trends. An early study is by Lively (1931) which focuses on changes in the patterns of trade centres, as related to the status of the farm population in Minnesota. V. H. Whitney (1966), in his article "Changes in Rural-Nonfarm Population, 1930-1950," considers areas of greatest increases in the rural-nonfarm population and suggests that the role of rural-nonfarm growth decreases with decreasing size of the nearest centre. This is to say that the proportion of migrants who are in the rural-nonfarm category should be less in smaller towns than in larger ones. Fuguitt and Thomas (1966) have studied the growth of small towns in the United States, considering both size-class and place changes. The study is limited to consideration of the population of towns; that is, no explanation or analysis has been included. In "Do Villages Grow--Some Perspectives and Predictions" Gerald Hodge (1966) studies the types of centres that are likely to grow. It is based on data from Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan and Ontario, and the focus is on classes of settlements and their spatial distribution. An earlier study by Hodge (1965) dealt with the growth and decline of trade centres in Saskatchewan, the future patterns of

settlement, and density of settlements as related to the service hierarchy. Hart and Salisbury (1965) have approached the study of village population changes using statistical methods. The aspects of village size and its relation to growth are considered. Cautions concerning the normality and reliability of the data and the possible pitfalls in its interpretation are voiced. Hart, Salisbury and Smith (1968), in another article, relate population growth to economic growth. They stress the role of size of village as a growth determinant and suggest that the trend is to maintain at least one enterprise surviving in magnitude beyond its relation to the other businesses in the village or the size of the village population, as an "outsize function." Stafford's article (1963), "The Functional Bases of Small Towns," documents the results of research concerning the relationships between the magnitude of activities (as measured by establishments, total functions, and functional units) and the change in population size for small towns. In studying retail service patterns and trade centre population change, Hassinger (1957a) found the relationship of population increase to complexity of services to be in the same direction. Another study by Hassinger (1957b) deals with the patterns of growth of small centres. Here he explores the interrelationships of size of centre, its growth, and its distance from centres providing similar types of services.

Of both regional and systematic relevance is a study by Marriott (1969) of migration into and within the County of Grande Prairie. He has investigated early as well as recent migrations of both rural and urban residents of the area.

The Approach

From the literature, it is possible to formulate some notions as to which are the significant variables in a study of the nature of migrants and their journey.

It is postulated that one or more "migrant types" to particular places can be distinguished, and that each migrant type exhibits some regularities in the type of journey he makes. There are, then, two types of variables to be considered in a migration study--those associated with the migrant and those associated with the move he makes. It is the relationship between the two sets that creates the "character" of the place of destination, which in turn attracts only certain migrant types making certain associated journeys. The character of any destination can thus be seen to be dynamic--it is constantly evolving, a function, in part, of needs created there by the types of migrants being attracted to it.

The migrant type, or typical migrant, is defined by his personal characteristics (age, family, education, occupation, etc.) and his reasons for moving, which are not independent of his personal characteristics yet not defined by them.

Journey types are described with reference to the distance moved, location of the place of origin, and size of place of origin, both absolute and relative to the place of destination. The type of journey made is dependent on the reasons for which a particular destination was chosen by a migrant. This choice is again a partial function of the reasons for which the move was made.

The reasons which cause one to move are therefore a central issue in a migration study, and serve to link the two major factors describing the migration--migrant and journey types. Certain features of the place of origin, such as its recent growth and its size, are possible inputs to the motive for moving, as are some facets of the character of the destination. Insofar as features at the destination, which are relevant to the migrant, differ from those at his place of origin, this may provide the motive for moving. In this case choice of destination is concurrent with the reason for the migration. Presumably, the motivation to migrate arises from perceived differences; that is, there are both "push" and "pull" factors operating in a decision to move. Where the push factors are strong, any one of many destinations has a good probability of being selected by the migrant. Several destinations could satisfy the migrant's need. That chosen is merely one of a set of possible destinations capable of providing whatever motivated the migrant to move. The particular choice, however, arises partially as a function of the set of factors describing migrant and journey types. In effect, migrant type and journey type both condition and are conditioned by the reasons for moving. The necessity for a direct linkage of migrant type to the reasons for choice of destination is therefore clear. (See Figure 1.2.)

An illustration of the process described by the migration schema may clarify the ideas being presented. If numerous job opportunities in some occupational type are available at B, a family living at A, where the opportunity for advancement is limited, may decide to move upon

perceiving greater opportunity at B. In this sense, the character of B has created the reason for moving. The migration of the family from A to B may add to the population: three children, a wife who works outside the home, and a husband who is interested and active in sports organizations within the community. The effect of this family on B, then, is felt to the extent that the family differs from the population already there. It is contributing to the constantly evolving character of B, and enhances B's attractiveness to perhaps different sorts of people, and people in search of differing opportunities.

In summary, the proposed migration schema is suggesting that for each particular character of destination, there will be different migrant types and journeys made. Migrant types, journey types, and the reasons for moving are all, to some extent, a function of the character of the destination. That the reverse is also true is, of course, obvious.

On the basis of the discussion so far, several arguments can be put forward, and these will form a framework upon which the study can proceed:

1. That migration is selective of the total population; that is, that the migrant population exhibits characteristics different from those of the overall population.
2. That one or more kinds of migrant typical of the study areas can be distinguished and can account for a significant portion of the in-migration to the same area.
3. That regularities can be observed among the patterns of migration, the nature of the migrants, and their motives for migration.
4. That the proposed schema adequately describes the inputs to a migration and the relationship among those inputs.

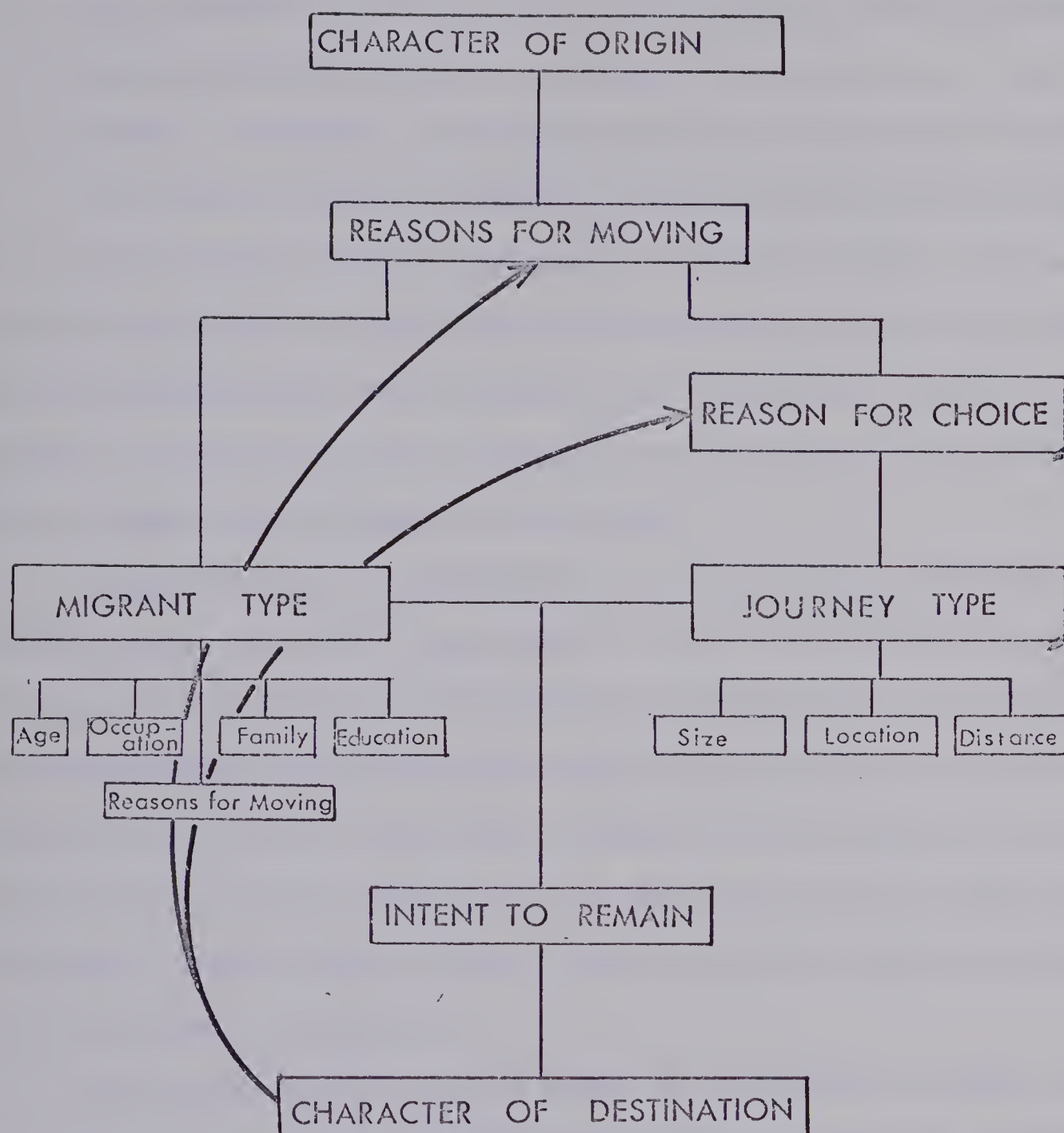


Figure 1.2

Methodology

The proximity of the Peace River region made it easily accessible for conducting the field research necessary to the collection of data for this project. In addition, other data sources are adequate and available.

The study is based on a sample of recent migrants into three towns in the Peace--Grande Prairie, Beaverlodge, and Spirit River. The basic criteria upon which the choice of towns was based were that they be growing in population, and that in-migration be a significant factor in their growth. In order to test the arguments, it was necessary, too, that the towns exhibit some differences in character.

Grande Prairie is approximately ten times as large as the two smaller towns, which were almost equal in their size and rate of growth between 1961 and 1966. All are increasing in population at rates greater than the average for the Peace as a whole (Census Division 15) and the Province, for the same time period. Grande Prairie is unique by virtue of its size alone, and Spirit River and Beaverlodge, despite their size similarity, exhibit quite different characteristics in terms of function, to be discussed in Chapter II.

The population from which a sample of in-migrants was drawn was derived by a comparison of voters' lists for two points in time, for each of the three towns. Lists for 1965 and 1968 were consulted to determine the migrants into the town during that period. A 10 per cent sample of those whose names appeared on the 1968 lists, but not on the 1965 lists, was selected using a table of random numbers. All three towns were considered together; that is, 10 per cent of all the

in-migrants were chosen randomly. It is thus possible to discuss all migration into the towns as a whole, as well as to compare that into one town with another.

Husbands and wives were treated as one sample unit, as it is assumed that they exhibit similar characteristics regarding their migration. The sampling unit, then, becomes the migrant unit which is in most instances a nuclear family or a single person. For the purposes of the study any migrant unit will be considered a family, whether consisting of one or more people, and the terms will be used interchangeably. Adjustments were made to enable comparison, where desired, of migrant families with families as they are defined by the Census of Canada.

The original sample consisted of 202 migrant units, with an additional thirty being chosen as replacements.

Disadvantages to using voters' lists as a basis for sample selection are several. Firstly, all migrants less than 21 years old in 1968 were automatically eliminated from the sample unless they were members of migrant units which were sampled. It is possible that this population is a significant one in an area such as this, where the agricultural economy cannot absorb rural youth entering the labour force. However, one might reasonably argue that such youthful migrants would have different social and economic characteristics from the older "family" migrants and thus make different demands upon their new environment. For this reason, they should perhaps be studied separately from the group being considered here.

List inaccuracies resulted in people appearing as in-migrants who, in some cases, were life-time residents of the community in question. In several instances, a change of name due to marriage, or the reaching of voter status within the study period were mistaken for in-migrations. Replacements were used where, due to voters' list characteristics, the person contacted was not an in-migrant.

People moving into and away from a town within the study period also went undetected. This, however, is a problem associated with the time period of the study rather than with the basis of the sample selection.

Data collection was accomplished by means of a questionnaire-interview technique. The in-migrants selected by the sampling procedure were contacted at their house or place of employment during June and July of 1969. Any responsible member of the sample migrant unit was accepted as the interviewee. Where the prospective interviewee no longer resided at the address, an attempt was made to trace his whereabouts and contact him there. In cases where the migrant could not be traced for personal interview because of change of address, or where he was not at home after three calls, a questionnaire was mailed to him whenever possible. Quite often it was difficult to trace the original in-migrant, since in rented dwellings the new tenants have not usually had contact with the former occupants. In addition, the post office keeps forwarding addresses for only three months. An interview was also conducted at the original address if the new residents had moved into the town during the specified time period.

Mail questionnaires were used more frequently at Spirit River, where it was difficult to locate people because there is no street numbering system. Response to the mail questionnaires at Spirit River was about 50 per cent, and at Grande Prairie it was about 30 per cent. No mail questionnaires were used in Beaverlodge. Statistical tests show that there is no significant difference between mail and interview questionnaires for any of the three centres; thus, they need not be differentiated for purposes of the analysis.

The study, then, is based upon data collected for 183 in-migrants to the three towns: 150 in Grande Prairie, 20 in Spirit River, and 13 in Beaverlodge.

Information requested of the interviewees was, for the most part, objective in nature. The explicitness of the information required rendered the questionnaire readily understandable and easy to answer. Responses were not categorized beforehand, since the range of possible answers was uncertain, and the level of detail desired was in part dependent on the quality of answer available. In addition, since primarily personal interviews were conducted, there was scope for noting impressions, especially those concerning the nature of the move itself. A copy of the interview schedule can be found in Appendix A.

Data concerning the personal characteristics of the in-migrants, their reasons for moving and for choice of a particular destination, and their place of origin were gathered.

The data were classified and coded for tabulation and cross-tabulation. Program CROS-4 (D. Flathman, 1968), which employs Yate's

Correction for cell frequencies of less than five, was used. Chi-square tests of significance were performed, and the probability level of .05 was adopted as the critical value.

Where the sampling unit consisted of two adult members who were husband and wife, the husband was assumed to be head of the family, and the classification of data proceeded on this premise. If the only adult member of the sampling unit was the wife, she was designated head of the unit for purposes of classification. Where the wife was not head of the family, socio-economic data were gathered separately for her. If she arrived at the place of destination independently of her husband, information regarding her journey was collected and used.

The following chapter will provide a background to the study area as a whole, and to each of the three towns chosen for the study. In Chapter III, the characteristics of the in-migrants are discussed and an attempt is made to determine "typical migrants" to the towns. Characteristics of journeys made and their relation to reasons for moving and choice of destination are the subjects of Chapter IV. In Chapter V, all aspects of the migrations are drawn together with reference to the proposed schema. Finally, the results are discussed and applied toward the verification or otherwise of the arguments derived from the literature review.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY AREA

The Peace River Region of Alberta

Location. The Peace River region of Alberta is located in the northwestern portion of the province and extends, suggests Ira Robinson (1963, p. 77), northward from approximately 55° latitude. Its focus is the Peace River, which flows west and north through the region. The area is separated topographically from the contiguously settled part of Alberta to the south, by rough lands not suited to agricultural use. Soils are predominately grey-wooded, interspersed with areas of degraded black. Most of the region has a fair to good agricultural potential. The area lying south of the town of Peace River may be thought of as the Southern Peace River Region. The present study focusses on three towns within this region--Grande Prairie, Beaverlodge, and Spirit River.

Historical development. The first permanent agricultural settlers began to arrive in the Peace between 1906 and 1911, although scattered trading posts had existed in the area before that time. Until 1911, settlers from the south reached the area via the Athabasca-Slave Lake trail. In that year, the Edson-Sturgeon Lake trail opened, prompting the first large-scale land "boom," and early efforts to encourage settlement began.

The Edmonton, Dunvegan, and British Columbia Railway reached Peace River town in 1916. In the same year, extensions from McLennan to

Spirit River and Grande Prairie were built. The railway was taken over by the Government of Alberta and leased to the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railway Companies. Between 1922 and 1930, seven further extensions were constructed.

After 1922, extensive highway construction was begun. Trunk roads were built from Peace River to Dunvegan, and extended to Grande Prairie. From there it was continued northwest to Fort St. John. Branch roads from Grande Prairie to Sturgeon Lake, and from Valhalla to Sexsmith were built, making the prime agricultural land accessible.

The Peace was settled then, as an agricultural frontier, after the best agricultural land in the more southerly parts of the Province had been "filled." Following World War I, homesteading under the Veterans' Land Act characterized the major wave of settlement in the area. Railway construction was both active and guiding the direction of new agricultural settlement, and a response to its location at that time, where settlement had preceded the coming of the rail line. "Town building . . ." says Dawson, ". . . was only incidental to the wave of land settlement." [C. A. Dawson, 1932, p. 39.] Periods of rapid expansion of the settled area were interspersed with years of less rapid settlement, the frequency of the cycle being dependent primarily on conditions external to the region. By 1921, there were about 20,000 people in the Peace, and ten years later the population had risen to 48,000.

The period following World War II was another of rapid expansion of settlement in the Peace, again owing to the establishment of many

veterans in the area through the Veterans' Land Act. In 1951, there were 67,103 people in the Peace, 54,102 of them in the Province of Alberta.

Economy. Until 1946, the economy of the Peace River Region was almost completely an agricultural one. Since then, several factors have led to its diversification, although agriculture is still predominant. Changes in agricultural technology have brought about increased farm efficiency and the subsequent need for farm consolidation. The resultant migration out of farming by many of the rural population has made available a large local labour pool for the expanding sectors of the area's economy. More recently, international conditions have resulted in the loss of markets for Canadian wheat, forcing yet more farmers to diversify their operations, or leave farming.

The occurrence of numerous resources other than the agricultural has aided the adjustment of the area to declining agricultural conditions, as well as induced the location of considerable economic activity there. Valleyview, for example, has emerged since 1950 as an "oil town," and the forest resource has enabled the development of a sizable lumber industry at Grande Prairie.

In addition to the varied resource base within the area, developments in Northern Canada have had, and will continue to have, some impact on the economy of the Peace. Already, the trucking industry and the associated trans-shipment of goods are providing the livelihood for a number of people.

Recent population growth. In 1966, the population of the Alberta portion of the Peace, Census Division 15, was 88,344, an increase of 14.9 per cent since 1961 (Census of Canada, 1966). The rate of population increase for the Province during the same period was 9.85 per cent; thus it is seen that population growth is more rapid in the Peace than in the province as a whole. The rural population reached a maximum in 1961, and has declined absolutely, as well as proportionately, since then.

Urban growth, however, has been more rapid than rural population growth since 1941. Between 1961 and 1966, eleven of twenty-four towns and villages in the Census Division grew by greater than 20 per cent, indicating substantial growth and in-migration. For the entire Census Division, net in-migration for the period is calculated to be 800 (K. Svenson, p. 10). In relation to a total population increase of 11,460, net in-migration represents a mere 7.0 per cent; in relation to the 1966 population of 88,349, the number of in-migrants is equal to only 1.2 per cent of the total. It is, however, clear that urbanization is occurring as a result of both migration into the area and migration within the area. The absolute decline of rural population is indicative of rural-urban migration, but to what extent this movement is confined within the Peace is not certain.

The three towns chosen for study showed percentage population increases for the period 1961 to 1966 ranging from 16.2 per cent to 41.3 per cent. In-migration is thus assumed to be an active agent contributing to their growth. Some knowledge of the development and

functional nature of these towns is relevant to an understanding of variations in in-migration among the centres.

Grande Prairie

The city of Grande Prairie lies at approximately 55° latitude north and 119° longitude west. It is 283 road miles northwest of Edmonton and about 52 miles east of the Alberta-British Columbia boundary. It is situated at the junction of Highways 2 (linking it with Peace River) and 34 (from Valleyview and Edmonton). At Grande Prairie, they meet to form the Alaska Highway extending westward. It is both the largest and the dominant centre in the Peace River Region of Alberta. (See Figure 2.1.)

Grande Prairie was named by a Roman Catholic missionary "La Grande Prairie," in reference to the prairie and rolling plains south of Spirit River. In 1906 there were just two buildings on the present site of the city--a hotel and the mission. In 1908, the church of Father Giroux was moved from Lake Saskatoon, 10 miles to the west, to the edge of Bear Creek, at the present city site. With knowledge of the coming railroad, settlers began to arrive in 1910, and in 1911 the Dominion Land Office was erected, and subsequently became the focal point of the town. The first bank and post office also opened in 1911, and the settlement became a village in April of 1914.

The arrival of the Edmonton, Dunvegan, and British Columbia Railroad in 1916 brought with it an influx of settlers. Grande Prairie remained at the "end of the steel" for nine years, during which time the

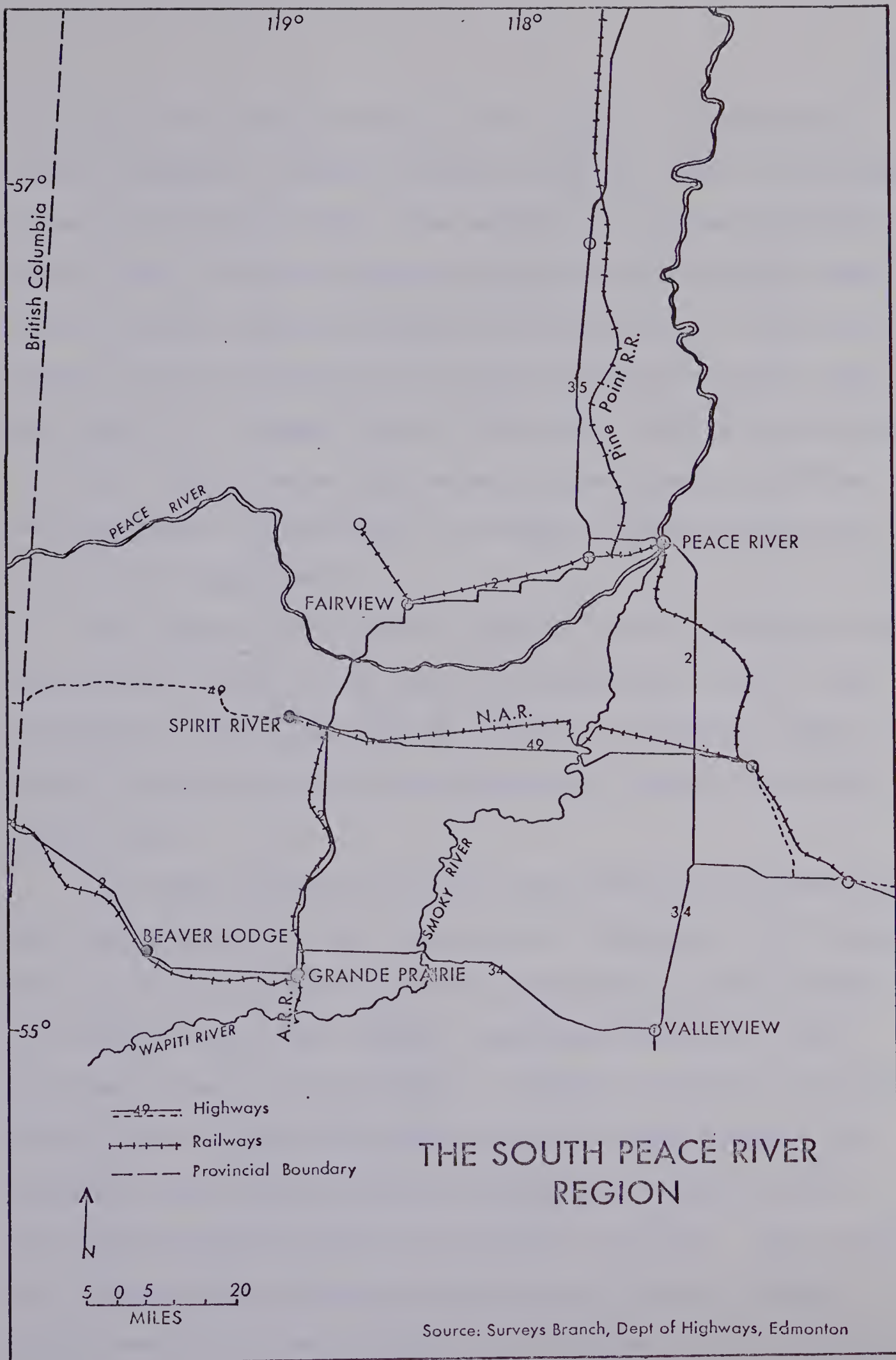


Figure 2.1

settlement first achieved dominance in the region. The importance of initial advantage in allowing sustained growth of a centre is exemplified in the case of Grande Prairie. The advantage has accrued from Grande Prairie being a rail-head throughout the period of time when the major influx of settlers entered the Peace, after World War I. It has grown rapidly since its incorporation as a town of population 1,090 in 1919. (See Table 2.1) It became a city in 1958, and by 1966 had a population of 11,417. Grande Prairie's percentage increase between the 1961 and 1966 census was 41.3, indicating the strength of the in-migration component in the city's growth.

The trading area is said to extend 75 miles to the north, 7 miles to the south, 35 miles to the west, and eastward for 75 miles. The population of this trading area was estimated to be 25,000 in 1956, 35,000 in 1960, and 50,000 in 1968 (Department of Industry and Tourism, 1968, p. 29).

The recent expansion of transportation routes and facilities has been both an impetus to and a result of other development in the region. These facilities have been of particular importance to Grande Prairie. The building of the Alaska Highway, begun during World War II, was completed in 1946. The Hart Highway, connecting the interior of British Columbia with the Peace River Region across the Rocky Mountains, was finished in 1952. By 1948, the MacKenzie Highway linked the Peace River Region with Hay River in the Northwest Territories. The Pacific Great Eastern Railway connected Prince George to Fort St. John and Dawson Creek (the northern terminus of the Northern Alberta Railway) in

TABLE 2.1

POPULATION CHANGE IN THE STUDY AREA

	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1956	1961	1966
Census Division 15 Population Percentage Increase	5,111	20,817 307.3	44,447 113.5	53,491 20.3	61,800 15.5	70,417 13.9	76,884 9.2	88,344 14.9
Grande Prairie Population Percentage Increase Per Cent Population of C. D. 15		1,061	1,464 37.9	1,724 17.8	2,664 54.5	6,302 136.6	8,352 32.5	11,417
		5.1	3.3	3.2	4.3	8.9	10.9	12.9
Spirit River Population Percentage Increase Per Cent Population of C. D. 15		210	232 10.5	276 19.0	553 100.4	743 34.4	890 19.8	1,034
		1.0	.5	.5	.9	1.1	1.2	1.2
Beaverlodge Population Percentage Increase Per Cent Population of C. D. 15			211	331 56.9	514 55.3	768 49.4	897 16.8	1,083
			.5	.6	.8	1.1	1.2	1.2

Source: Census of Canada, 1966, Vol. I (1-6).
Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin 1 (1-10).

1958. The Pine Point Railway, between Grimshaw and Hay River, was built in 1961. The Alberta Resources Railroad, from Brule to Grande Prairie, finished during the summer of 1969, completed the present road and rail network into and within the region. Each of these transportation facilities is of some benefit to Grande Prairie, owing partly to its situation, and contributing to the expansion of its function as a trucking and trans-shipment centre. Increasing tourist trade, particularly in connection with the Alaska Highway, has also contributed to the growth of Grande Prairie.

Like the region as a whole, the city is becoming more diverse in its economic base, and less directly dependent upon the agricultural resource. The largest industry in Grande Prairie is associated with the forest resource, and at present the prospects of a new pulp and paper mill being established there enhance its chances for further rapid growth.

The city is the administrative centre of the County of Grande Prairie, as well as the location of a new junior college, established there in 1966. Its health, educational, and governmental institutions, and its service industries serve a population from considerable distances and tend to insulate its position of dominance in the Peace. Says C. A. Dawson of Grande Prairie: "Out from it range the lesser villages on the railroad, and out from these the crossroad centers of the fringe territory." [C. A. Dawson, 1932, p. 41.]

The importance of in-migration to the city's growth can be presumed to be largely a result, then, of the economic opportunities

available there, due to the city's recently acquired functions associated more with industry and services than with agricultural activity. Moreover, it has achieved sufficient dominance and size, being almost three times larger than the second centre, to allow it to generate growth from within, thus further increasing its ability to attract immigrants associated with the non-agricultural sectors of the economy.

Beaverlodge

Beaverlodge is located 28 miles directly west of Grande Prairie on Highway 2 (the Alaska Highway), and 312 road miles northwest of Edmonton.

The first white man in the area had trap lines on the Wapiti River and a winter camp a short distance north of it. Permanent settlers first entered the Beaverlodge valley in 1908. In 1909, 31 members of an Ontario religious sect filed for the first homesteads. A post office, opened in 1910, was accompanied shortly after by a school, church, and store.

Construction of the railway from Grande Prairie in 1928, approximately one mile northwest of the original hamlet, made it advantageous to move the townsite to its present location on the rail line.

The early history of Beaverlodge would not be complete without referring to the Dominion Experimental Station located on Highway No. 2, one half mile east of the original townsite, which played such an important part in the life and development of Beaverlodge, and the whole Peace River country. [Department of Industry and Tourism, 1958a, p. 4.]

The station began in 1914 as a hobby on the farm of W. D. Albright. In 1915, the Federal Government recognized his farm as a sub-station, and

in 1940 the land was taken over by the Federal authorities and made a Dominion Agricultural Station. It has since been a major factor in the growth of and attraction to Beaverlodge of highly skilled people. Its payroll is now more than five hundred thousand dollars annually.

Although Beaverlodge functions primarily as an agricultural service centre, the presence of a Canadian Armed Forces Base near the town has had some impact on its growth and function. Its trade area is estimated to extend about 17 miles to the north, 22 miles westward, 25 miles southward, and east about 8 miles.

Beaverlodge has grown steadily since 1931 (see Table 2.1.). Between 1961 and 1966 its population increased from 897 to 1,083 (20.7 per cent), indicating that here, as in Grande Prairie, in-migration has made a significant contribution to its growth. A factor which, in the future, may prove inhibiting to the continued growth of Beaverlodge is its proximal location to Grande Prairie, whose dominating nature may well discourage possible investments in Beaverlodge. Since Beaverlodge is within the administrative unit of the County of Grande Prairie, its potential to assume administrative functions of any level is severely hampered. Its continued growth would seem to rely heavily on the continued existence of the two Federal Government enterprises near the town, and on its ability to compete with Grande Prairie as a rural service centre.

Spirit River

The town of Spirit River is located 44 miles north of Grande

Prairie, at the western terminus of a Northern Alberta Railway branch line. It is just five miles west of the junction of Highways 2 and 49. Highway 2 connects Grande Prairie with Peace River, and Highway 49 extends east to west from McLennan through Falher, to Spirit River and Dawson Creek.

Spirit River was named for the Spirit River, a small stream about 2-1/2 miles south of the townsite. The original settlement extended along both banks of the stream, and grew around two trading posts--one operated by the Hudson's Bay Company and one by the Revillon Freres. The posts were located at the intersection of two trails which led to other trading posts. Between 1903 and 1906, missions located near these posts which ". . . continued to do business on this site until 1919." [Department of Industry and Tourism, 1958b, p. 3.]

These posts would fall into the first of four stages of development of an agricultural region as delineated by Murchie and Dawson: ". . . the trails which led to the outposts point the way for agricultural settlements." [C. A. Dawson and R. W. Murchie, 1934, p. 5.] The first farming in the Spirit River district was in 1891, when a squatter took land near the trading post. In 1895, two men bought a horse and cattle ranch which had been started, without success, at Spirit River by a fur trading company. Some of the first settlers in the area were among those who had set out in 1898 for the Klondike. By 1903, ten acres had been broken and sown to oats near the Spirit River, and in 1906 wheat was harvested. The first store at the present townsite was built in 1906.

Growth of the town, and settlement of the area beyond, was given impetus by the arrival of the railway in 1916. Grading of the rail bed continued 55 miles westward in the same year, but the line has never been extended beyond the town.

Spirit River has traditionally functioned as the agricultural service centre to a considerable rural population. "It is the social and shopping centre, the health and educational centre, the servicing centre for agricultural machinery, and the shipping point for a 900 square mile territory." [Department of Industry and Tourism, 1958b, p. 6.] As the "end of rail" the town has grown as the collector and shipping point for a large agricultural area to the west and north. Mixed farming predominates in the area, with wheat and grain being the main crops. Additional resources are natural gas and timber.

Its role as the administrative centre for the Municipal District of Spirit River, and the concomitant establishment of provincial government offices in the town, have assigned Spirit River the regional importance and stability necessary for and contributing to its continuing viability. The first hospital was opened in 1932 and has now become one of the major facilities of and attractions to the town.

Spirit River's trading area is estimated to extend 30 miles to the north, 15 miles southward, 4 miles to the east and 40 miles to the west. In 1956, the population of this area was 3,721. The town itself has grown continuously since 1921, and its intercensal population increase between 1961 and 1966 was 16.2 per cent. It was, in 1966, almost equal in size to Beaverlodge, but had grown slightly less between

censuses (Table 2.1.). Migration into the town is, nevertheless, a process significant to its population growth.

Conclusion

The role of the railroad in the initial spread of settlement through the area as a whole, and in the development and growth of each town, is evident. Although Grande Prairie and Spirit River both acquired rail linkages in the same year and were both "ends of steel," Grande Prairie town grew much faster and more than Spirit River. This is probably attributable to its more favorable situation, relative to the overland Edson-Sturgeon Lake trail.

Transportation has been of recent importance in contributing to the economic development of resources other than the agricultural one. The resultant diversification of the economy, to which the recent development of the area is tied, has enabled the growth of towns in the region to continue. Beaverlodge, Spirit River, and Grande Prairie have all shown significant population growth due to in-migration. Although each originally developed as an agricultural service centre, various conditions have given rise to the acquisition of new functions and therefore different attractions to new residents.

CHAPTER III

THE MIGRANTS

Introduction

The proposed schema depicts two basic sets of variables associated with a study of migration. One is concerned with the nature of the move. The other set, which is probably the more independent, if the relationships between the two sets are studied, is the nature of the migrants themselves.

As is revealed in the literature, certain characteristics of age, education, occupation, family size and family stage are thought to be identifiable among a group of migrants, and to enhance one's propensity to migrate. If this is true, it follows that we should be able to identify typical migrants; that is, types of persons most likely to migrate to a given destination or set of destinations, on the basis of socio-economic criteria. If migration is selective, it follows that there are "migrant types"-- people who, in reference to some relevant characteristics, are different from the general population from which they came. Hence, to define a migrant type the comparison of migrants with some base population is necessary. Since only 4.4 per cent of the migrants sampled in this study came from outside Canada, the Canadian population, as described in the Census, will provide an adequate base population for comparison. For general comparisons of occupation, unit head is compared with the Canadian male population.

The Typical Migrant

It is generally said that younger adults tend to be more mobile than those in the older age-groups. Among rural populations, this is most often the result of a lack of sufficient job opportunities in local areas for young people entering the labour force. For rural-farm people, retirement is often accompanied by a move, creating a secondary peak of aged. Among urbanites, migrations are more often made by choice than by necessity, and the young, who are less firmly settled in their environment and have fewer bonds than the older groups, are more prone to make this choice.

The migrants sampled were those 21 years of age and older. Members of sampled units who were under 21 are considered only in terms of family age and size. The modal five-year age-group of the sample is the 25 to 29 year group. (See Figure 3.1.)

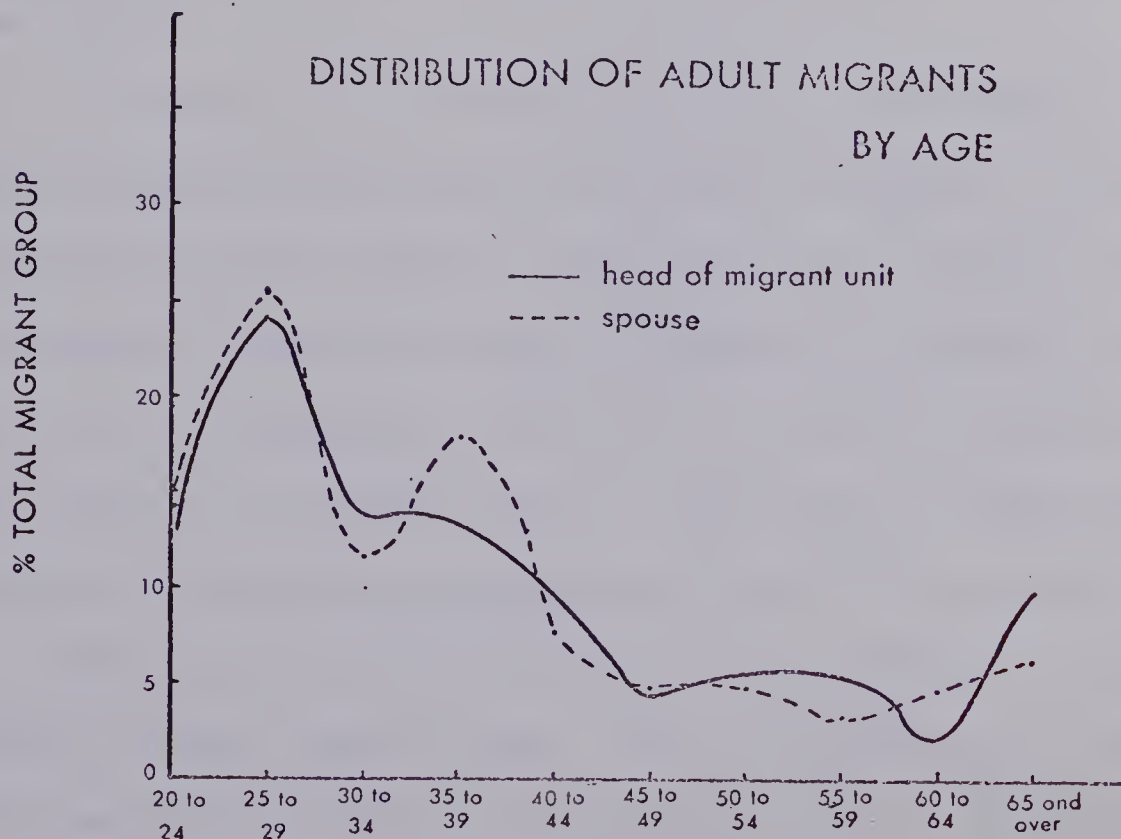


Figure 3.1

Of the heads of families, 24.3 per cent were in this category, while 62.5 per cent were less than 40 years of age. There were relatively few migrants in the 40 to 64 year categories, and a slightly greater proportion were 65 years and older (9.9 per cent of heads of families and 6.2 per cent of their spouses). Thus it can be said that most of those migrating to the study centres are young.

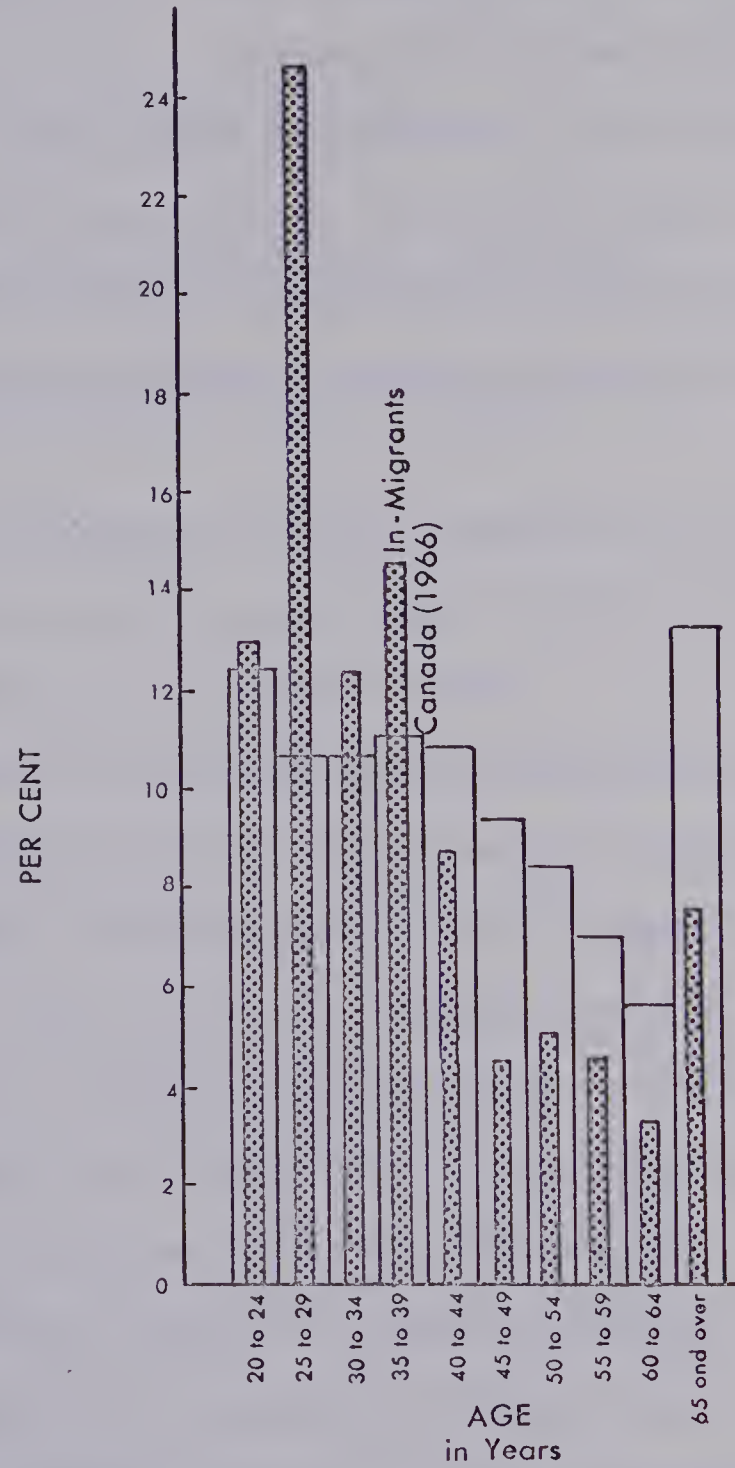
Whether the migrants differ substantially in age structure from the population from which they were drawn will determine if there is a "migrant type" with respect to age. Figure 3.2 shows the proportion of migrants in each five-year age-group, and the proportion of Canadians over 20 in the corresponding age-groups in 1966. It is obvious that the migrant group is significantly younger than the population as a whole, and it can therefore be said that the migrant moving into the study centres, in terms of age, is young, and that younger people tend to be more mobile.

In 88.0 per cent of the sampling units, the head of the family was male, and 82.0 per cent of the heads were married. Ten and four-tenths per cent were single, and the remaining 7.7 per cent were widowed or divorced. Because the sample was limited to migrants 21 years and older, and the probability that many of the single in-migrants were less than 21, it is likely that the proportion of single migrants revealed by the sample is significantly less than in reality.

The total population of the 183 units sampled is 657, of whom 336 are children living at home. This is an average of 2.0 per unit in which the head of the unit is or has been married. Of the total migrant

AGE STRUCTURE

IN-MIGRANTS COMPARED WITH CANADA



Sources: D.B.S. Census of Canada, 1966
interview data

Figure 3.2

units, 68.8 per cent had less than three children. Fifty-eight and eight-tenths per cent of the children are less than ten years old. Most of the families, then, are of small or average size and are young, this being a reflection of the age structure of the migrant group. That many of the migrants are young, as are their children, may indicate that they have not yet completed their families. In 20.2 per cent of the sample units, the number of children has increased since the migration occurred --further support for an hypothesis regarding the age and family stage of migrants.

Moving proved disruptive to family structure in 7.7 per cent of the cases, in that fewer children moved with the family than were living at home immediately prior to the family's move.

Unlike age, family characteristics in themselves do not suggest any striking regularities among the migrant group; however, they do serve to reinforce the trends discernible in the age of migrants.

To determine whether there is a "migrant type" with respect to family characteristics, Canada's population again serves as the basis for comparison. There was an average of 2.0 children at home per family in Canada in 1966, the same as for the migrants sampled.

The distribution of families by number of children for Canada and for the sample population is illustrated in Figure 3.3. It is not clear that there is any significant variation between the migrant group and the total population in this regard. The migrant group appears to have a somewhat lower proportion of families with five or more children. This, however, is probably a reflection of the greater percentage of

FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN CANADA (1966) AND IN-MIGRANTS

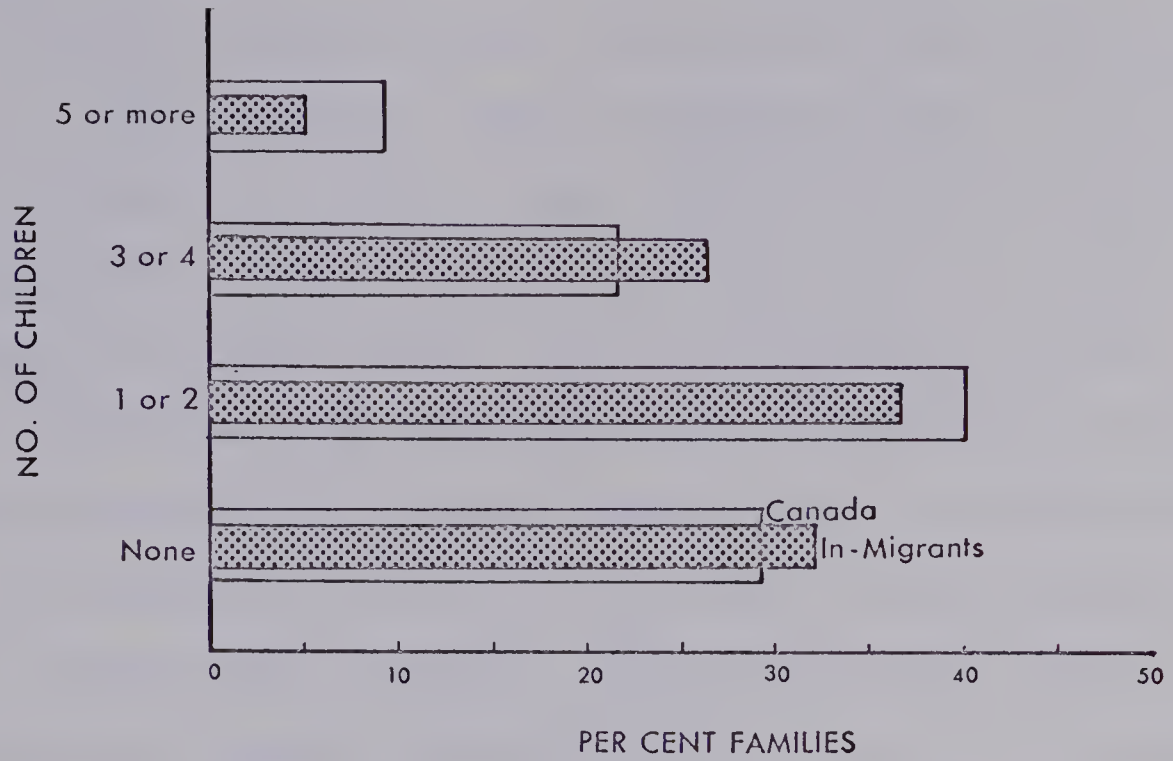


Figure 3.3a

FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY PLACE

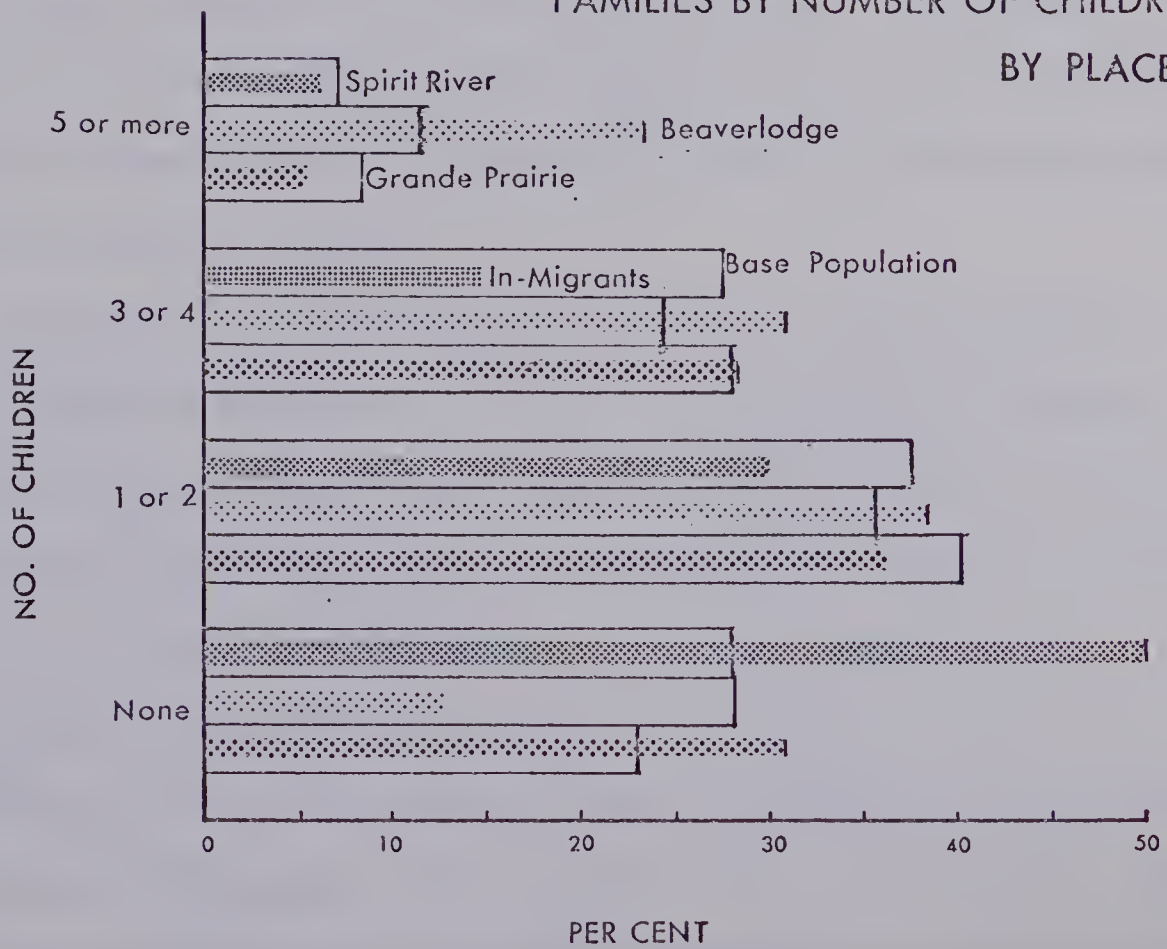


Figure 3.3b

young in the migrant group.

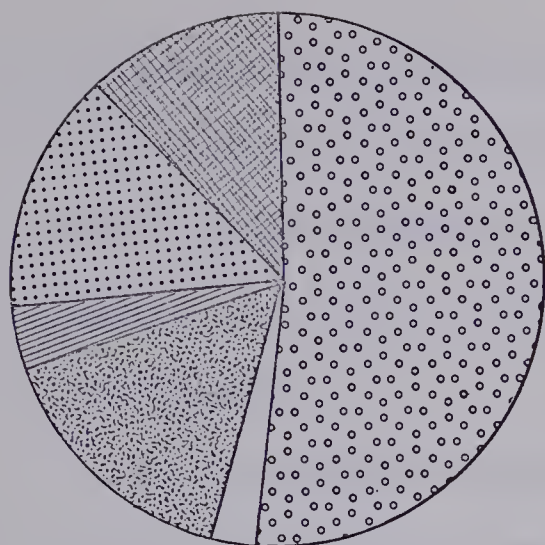
The age of migrant children, relative to the total population, is seen to be slightly younger. Among the migrant families, 81.2 per cent of the children are less than 15 years, while for Canada this proportion is 74.9 per cent. Again, this may be explained in part by the age structure of the migrant group. One is, then, not able to define a migrant type for the study area by his family characteristics, except to say that families are of average size but tend to be slightly younger.

That the better educated are more mobile is another commonly held opinion. Of the sample respondents, 57.8 per cent of the heads of families had not completed high school, and 52.0 per cent had received no other or additional training. The corresponding figures for spouses were 61.1 per cent and 71.3 per cent respectively. Proportions of migrants receiving additional training are shown by type of training in Figure 3.4. Twenty-two and seven-tenths per cent had received professional or technical training.

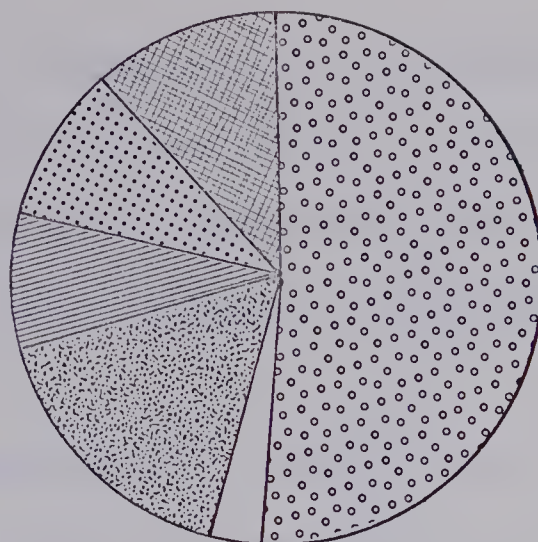
Occupational characteristics of migrants prior to moving is another dimension which contributes to the definition of a migrant type. Occupation after moving, and job factors associated with the move will be considered later with reasons for moving and in relation to their impact on the town of destination.

Occupations of the sample group were classified under the eleven major headings of the Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries, 1960, Census of Population (United States Bureau of the Census, 1960). Two further categories were added for the purposes of accounting for all

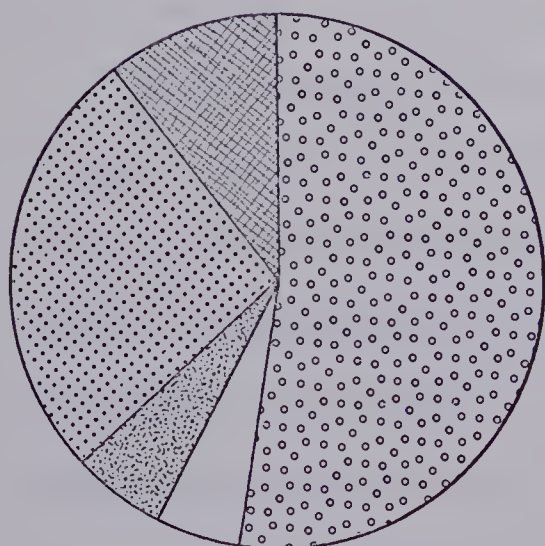
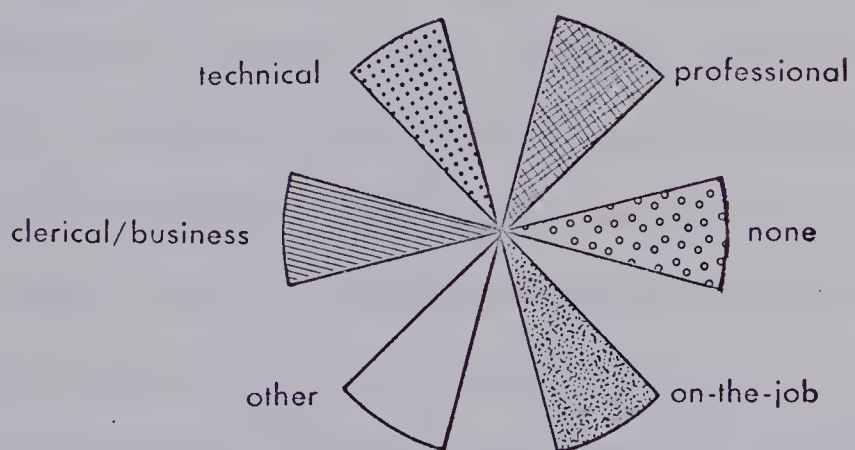
IN-MIGRANTS BY TYPE OF TRAINING



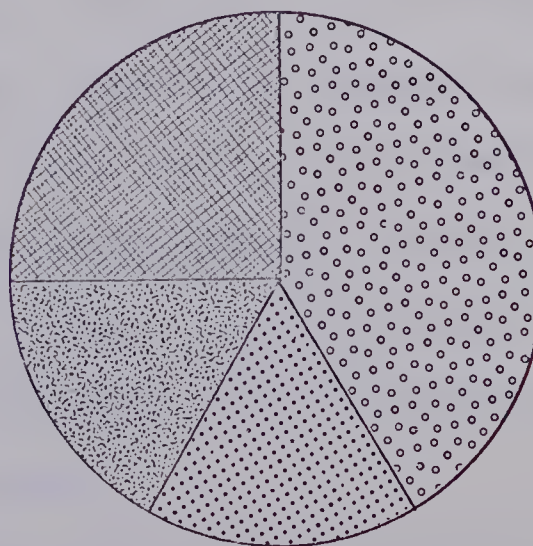
OVERALL



GRANDE PRAIRIE



SPIRIT RIVER



BEAVERLODGE

Figure 3.4

of the sample population and for clarity. These are (1) the retired and (2) the unemployed, which includes students and those unable to work, as well as those unemployed either seeking or not seeking work. The categories are listed in Appendix B and used consistently, as numbered, in the diagrams.

Of the heads of migrant units responding, 14.7 per cent were employed in professional and technical occupations, compared with 7.6 per cent for the whole of Canada in 1961. There was less than the average proportion, however, of each of the sales, clerical, and managerial occupations occupied by the migrants prior to the moving (see Figure 3.5.). Those who gained their livelihood from farming before moving formed the largest occupational group among the migrants sampled (23.1 per cent). This is compared with the national average of 12.2 per cent. Only 3.3 per cent of the migrants remained in this occupational category after moving, indicating both rural to urban migration and a substantial move out of agriculture. That the proportion of migrants who are retired is just 11.0 per cent lends credence to this statement.

Before moving, 15.3 per cent of the spouses were employed outside the home. Of the heads of families responding, 49.4 per cent changed occupation upon moving; that is, the occupational category in which they were classified was different after moving. Approximately half of the migrants had a job in the place of destination before arriving there, and only 10.2 per cent came in search of work.

Of the 39 migrants who came from the farm, 30.8 per cent had previously had off-farm employment. Seventy per cent of these were

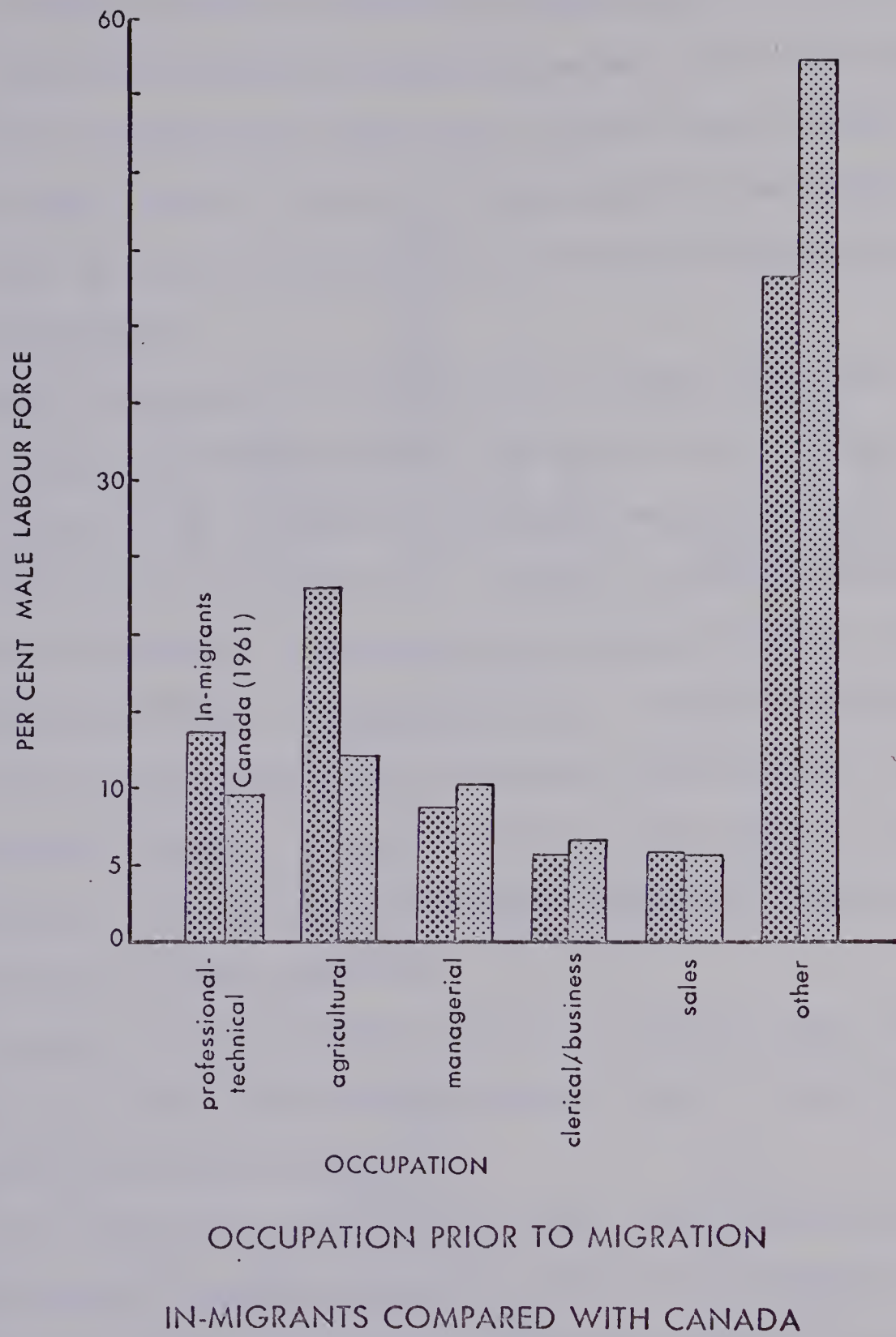


Figure 3.5

employed as labourers, and 30.0 per cent as operatives and kindred workers. The chief industries in which they worked were forestry and transportation. Migrants from farms show a strong tendency toward maintaining their ties with the land. Forty-eight and seven-tenths per cent still own land, and another 10.3 per cent sold their farms, but to their children.

Figure 3.6a shows the distribution of in-migrants among the thirteen occupational classes utilized, and Figure 3.6b illustrates the distribution of the in-migrant labour force among industries. The greatest single group of migrants was employed as craftsmen and foremen at their destination. Professional and technical employees, and operatives were also large occupational groups. The most noticeable change in size of occupational group before and after migration is in the agricultural category. In general, there are more migrants from professional and technical, and agricultural occupations, than are present in the total Canadian population.

In order to identify typical migrants, or migrant types, moving into the study centres, cross-classifications of some of their personal characteristics have proved useful.

When the age of the heads of the migrant units was cross-classified with their present occupations, several combinations were found to occur much more often than others. Twenty-two and six-tenths per cent of the in-migrants can be accounted for by three of 130 cells in this matrix. The cell occupied most frequently identifies those 65 years and older who are presently retired. Craftsmen and foremen between 25 and 29 years

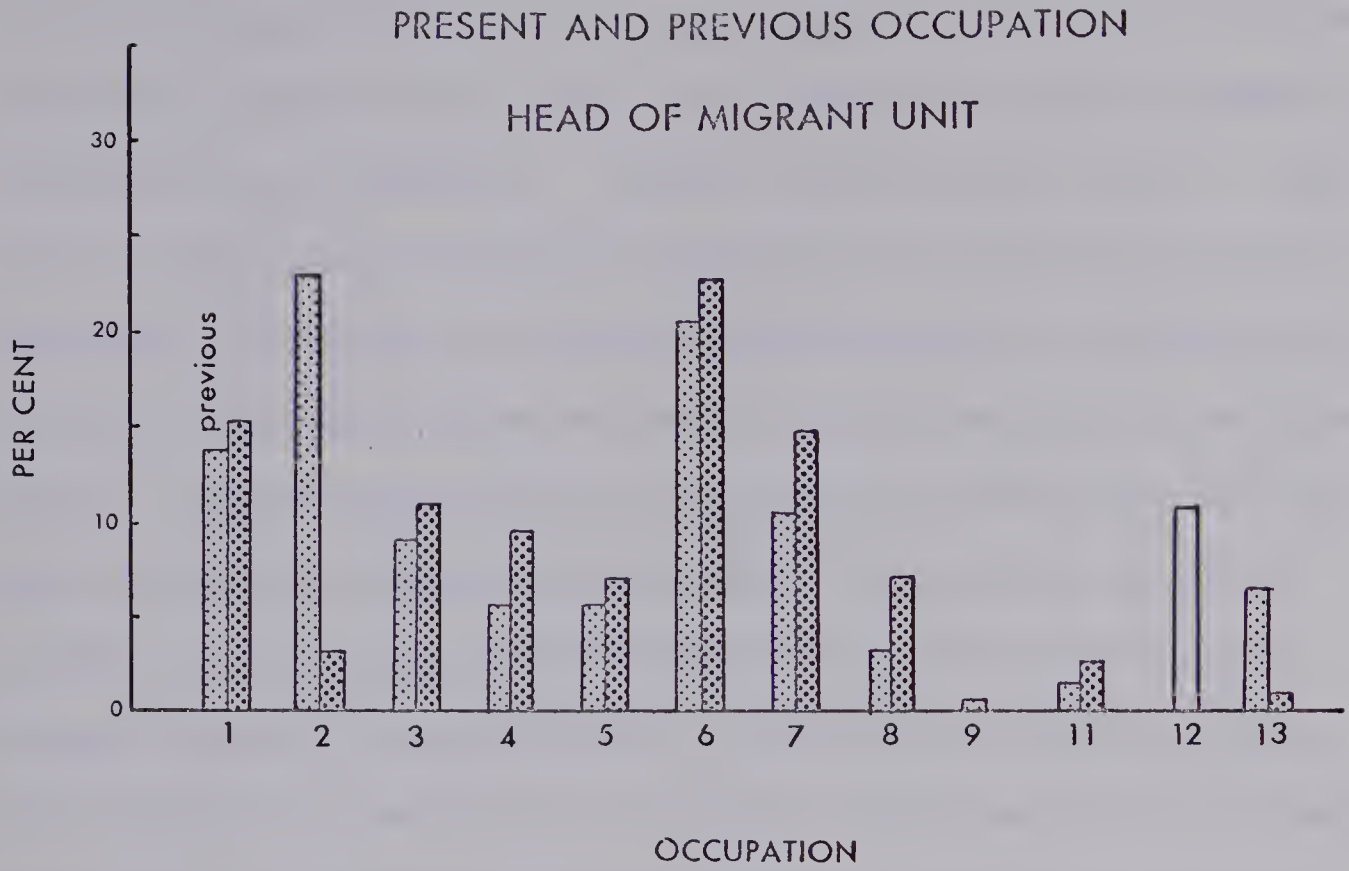


Figure 3.6a

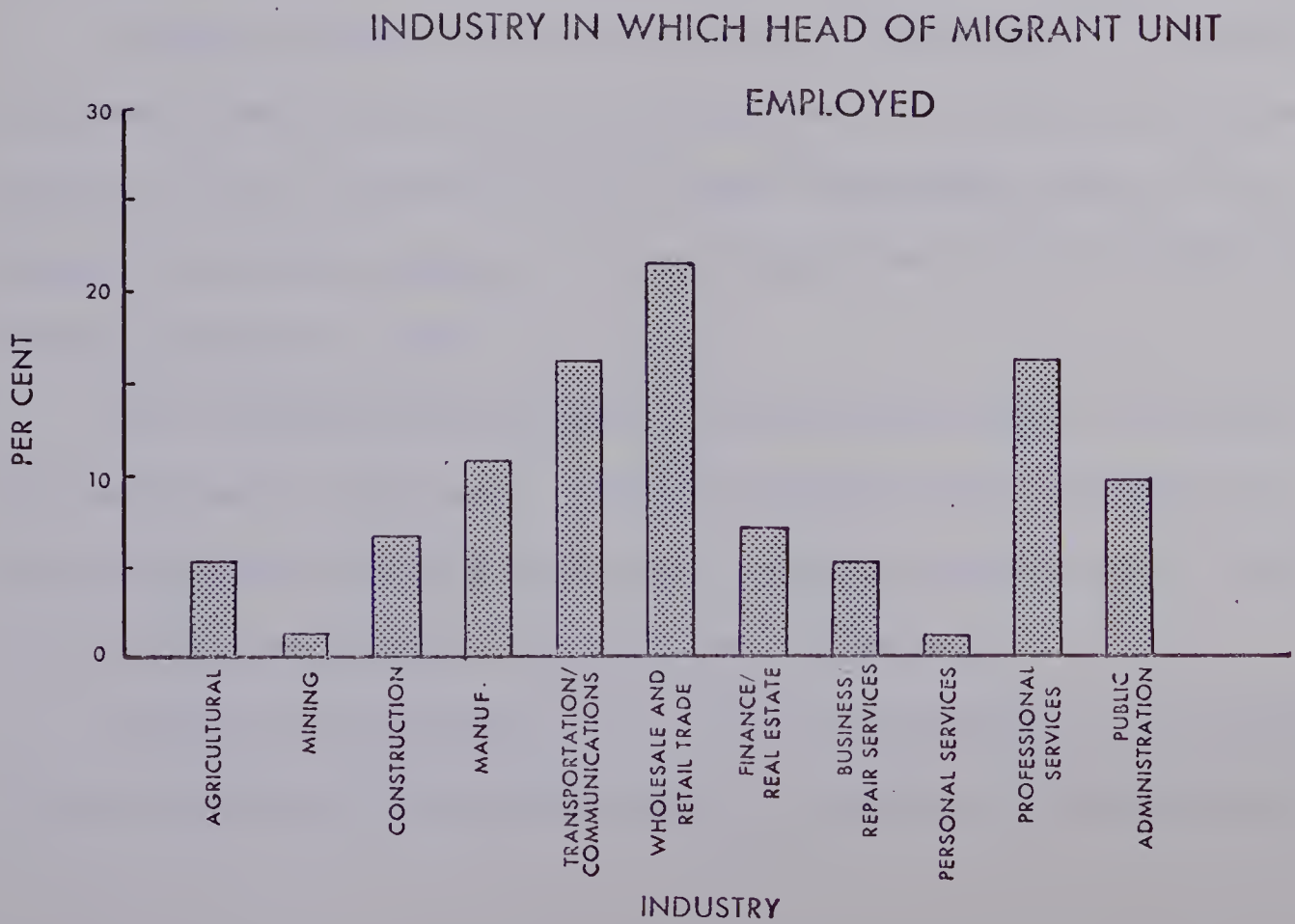


Figure 3.6b

old and professionals in the same age category comprise the second and third most popular cells. These three groups may be distinguished as the major types of migrants. A fourth group of significance is those 35 to 40 years old in managerial, official, or proprietor occupations, who account for another 5.0 per cent of the heads of in-migrant units. Forty-seven and four-tenths per cent of those in managerial positions were in this same age-group of 35 to 40 years, in which only 12.2 per cent of the total migrants are classified. One further significant concentration of migrants distinguishes the operative and kindred workers who are 20 to 29 years old. Four and four-tenths per cent of the in-migrants belong in this category. These five types of migrants, based on their occupations and ages, account for 37.2 per cent of all the in-migrants to the study centres, and are therefore useful in describing further aspects of the migrations.

Eighty-five per cent of those who are retired and 94.4 per cent of those 65 years and over were found in the cell combining these two factors. This is indicative of the highly predictable nature of in-migrants in either category, and thus lends value to the identification of these people as a type.

The concurrence between craftsmen and foremen and the 25 to 29 year age-group is much less. Although 43.8 per cent of migrants in this occupational grouping are of this age-group, only 32.6 per cent of 25 to 29 year-old migrants are craftsmen and foremen.

Eight of 19 operatives, and 10 of 27 professionals, are included in the migrant type identified for each occupation. Predictability of

these two groups is therefore not high, but, as can be seen in Figure 3.7, they do signify general tendencies, both within the age-group and occupational categories.

Some general trends are clear from Figure 3.7, showing the distribution of occupations for the various age categories. Those still employed in agriculture after migration tend to be in the middle age-groups. One third are 45 to 49 years old, and these comprise one quarter of the migrants in that age category. Occupational groups exhibiting the least concentration of migrants in any one age category are the clerical and sales occupations. Those 20 to 24 years were found mainly in operative occupations and as service workers. Forty and nine-tenths per cent of those 35 to 40 were managerial. The age-groups exhibiting the least concentration in any one occupational class are the 50 to 54 and the 55 to 59 year age-groups.

In a very general way, it can be said that the younger migrants are in occupations requiring higher skills and that this group appears to be more mobile, relative to other age-occupation groups. On the basis of occupation and age, then, the migrant types are the young craftsmen, foremen, and professionals, the over-65 retiring group, and a managerial group 35 to 40 years of age. Education was not cross-classified, since occupation allows much the same sort of interpretation to be made.

The relation of age of the head of the migrant unit and his participation in organizations was described by cross-classification of the two variables (see Figure 3.8a). The highest ratio of participants

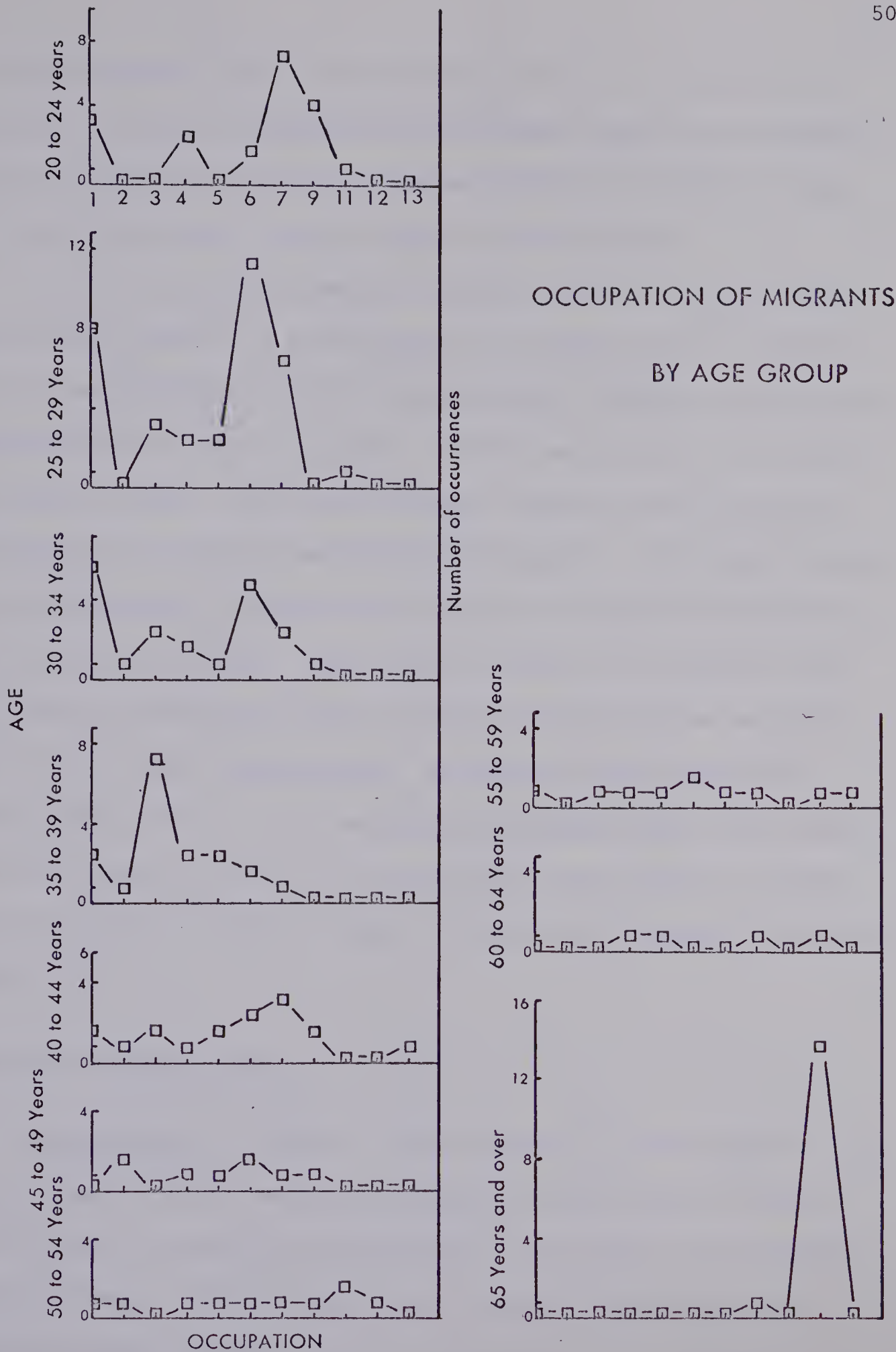


Figure 3.7

to non-participants (2.14) was found among the 35 to 40 year-old in-migrants. The largest frequency of participants among the in-migrants is for that age-group dominant in number--the 25 to 29 year-old group. These over 55 and under 25 are notably low participants.

In cross-classifying heads of migrant units as to their occupation and participation in organizations, the highest ratio of participants to non-participants is for the managerial, official, and proprietor occupational class (2.8), the group to which most of the 35 to 40 year-old migrants belong. Other ratios greater than one are for those in professional and technical and clerical occupations. (See Figure 3.8b.) The retired migrants, craftsmen and foremen, and operatives showed the lowest participant ratios. Thus, there is seen to be a general relation between occupational status and level of participation among the heads of the overall migrant group. An influx of high occupational status migrants, then, might result in an increased level of participation in the town as a whole. The participant group largest in number is the professional-technical group, followed by the managerial group of migrants.

Variations in Migrant Types

Grande Prairie. Because a larger proportion of the sample is composed of Grande Prairie residents, results for that city are likely to vary less from the overall proportions than are results for Beaverlodge and Spirit River. Absolute frequencies as well as proportions must therefore be kept in mind.

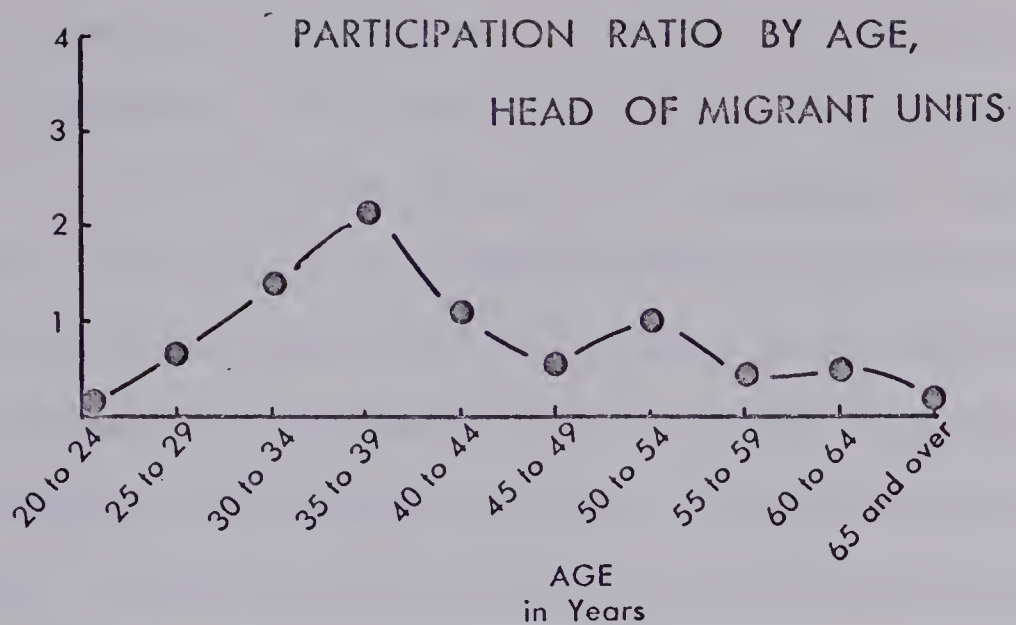


Figure 3.8a

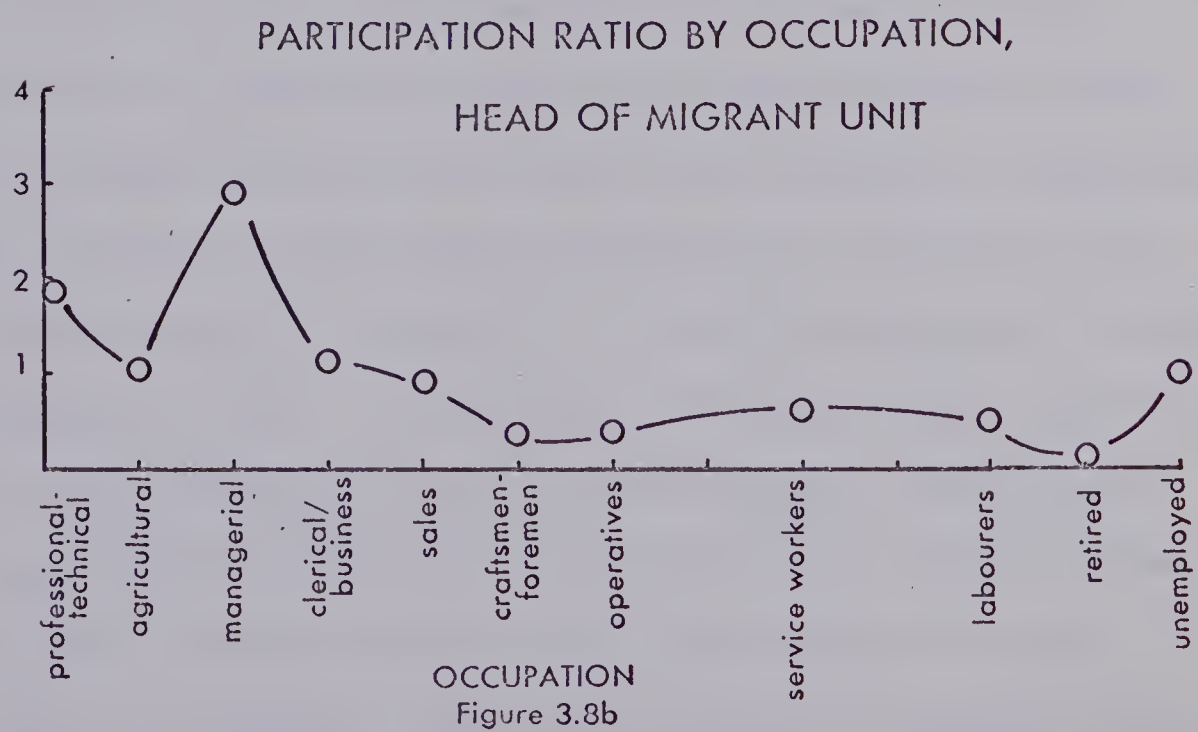


Figure 3.8b

The distribution of in-migrants by five year age-groups in Grande Prairie varies only insignificantly from the age distribution of all the sampled in-migrants. (See Figure 3.2.) If any distinction is to be made, it must be that Grande Prairie's in-migrants are slightly younger than the average, both for the heads of families and for their spouses. In both groups, the wives tend to be somewhat younger than their husbands.

Differences in the sex and status of heads of families between the total group of in-migrants and those to Grande Prairie are again very small. As can be seen in Figure 3.3, the average number of children per family is approximately the same as for the average overall migrant, but there is a slightly greater proportion of families with three or more children. The distribution of children among age-groups is similar to that for the overall group. All the occurrences of children leaving home at the time of the move were for migrants to Grande Prairie.

Variations in amount and kinds of educational training between the total in-migrant group and the Grande Prairie sample were negligible.

The occupations of the heads of sampled units in Grande Prairie, prior to their moving, are similar to the overall distribution of migrants among occupational classes. Where greater differences might have been expected, in the category of farmers and farm managers, they did not occur. Twenty-three and three-tenths per cent of the in-migrants came in search of work, compared with 20.8 per cent of the total sample group. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the size of Grande Prairie, and its consequent ability to provide more and a greater variety of job opportunities. Proportionately more farm-migrants to Grande Prairie sold

their land than among the overall group, suggesting that the change to a more urban environment found in the larger centre more effectively breaks the migrant's ties to the land.

In the cross-tabulation of age with occupation for Grande Prairie, the same five cells as in the overall migrant group have the greatest frequency of occurrence. (See Figure 3.9.) Here, however, the 65 and older-retired group and the craftsmen and foremen 25 to 29 years occur with the same frequency. Similarly operatives 20 to 24 years old, and 35 to 39 years olds in managerial occupations form a second level. Operatives 25 to 29 years are the third most often occurring group. While the 25 to 29 year age-group contributes more of the professional-technical labour force than any other five year age-group, it is not as singly important to Grande Prairie as to the total sample group. The five groups account for 37.1 per cent of the migrants to Grande Prairie.

Of the 20 to 24 year-olds, 42.1 per cent are employed in operative and kindred occupations. This age-group contributes 30.8 per cent of the total migrants in that occupational group. Similarly, a high concentration is found for the craftsmen and foremen, 25 to 29 years of age. Forty-four per cent of those 35 to 39 are in managerial positions, and 44.4 per cent of those positions are filled by in-migrants of this age-group. Of the professional and technical workers, 80.9 per cent are less than forty years old, compared with 62.8 per cent of all the migrants to Grande Prairie. There is again some tendency for the middle- and older-aged migrants to be concentrated in the lower status occupations. Clerical and sales occupations, as in the overall study area, exhibit the

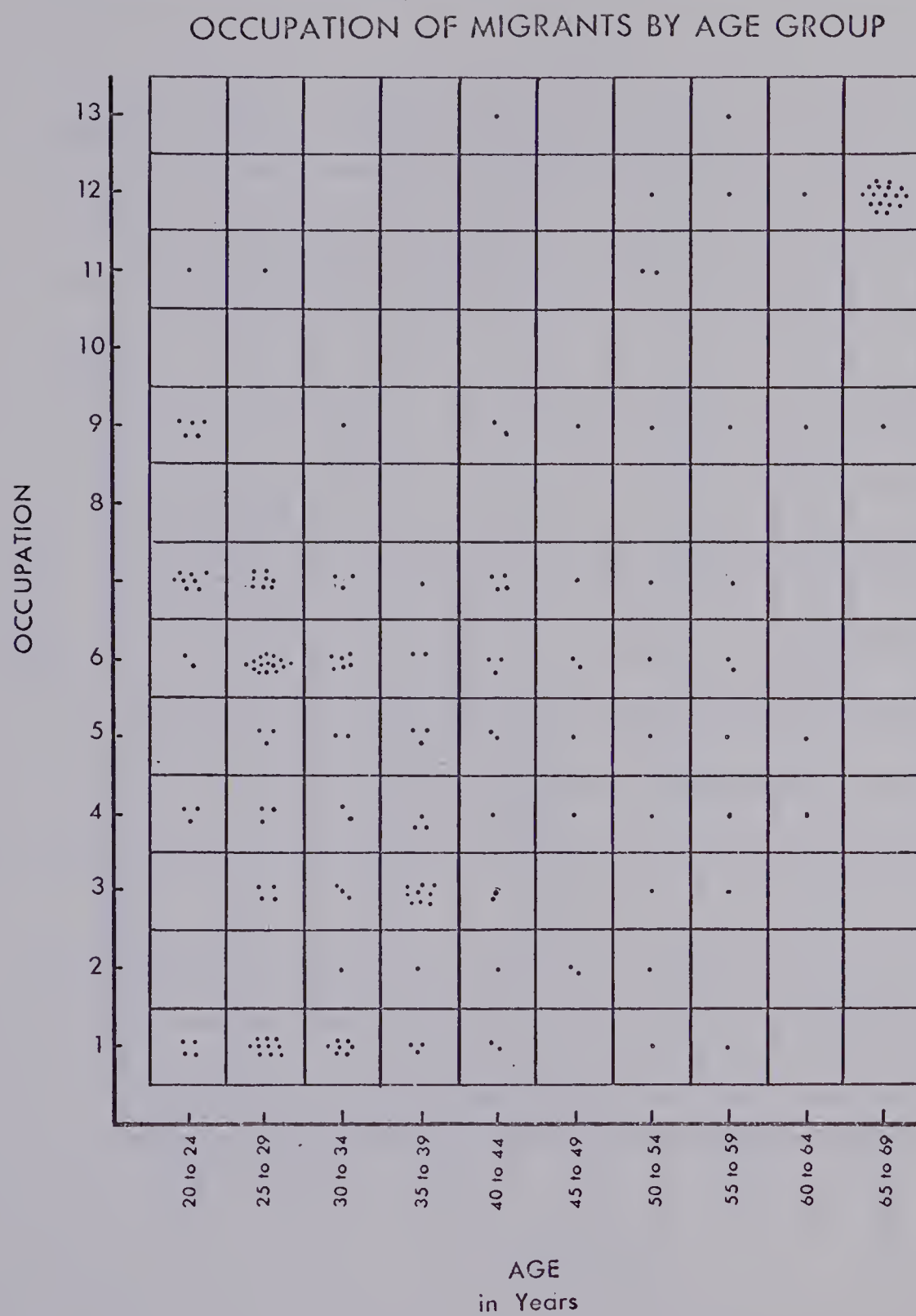


Figure 3.9a

OCCUPATIONS BY AGE GROUP: GRANDE PRAIRIE

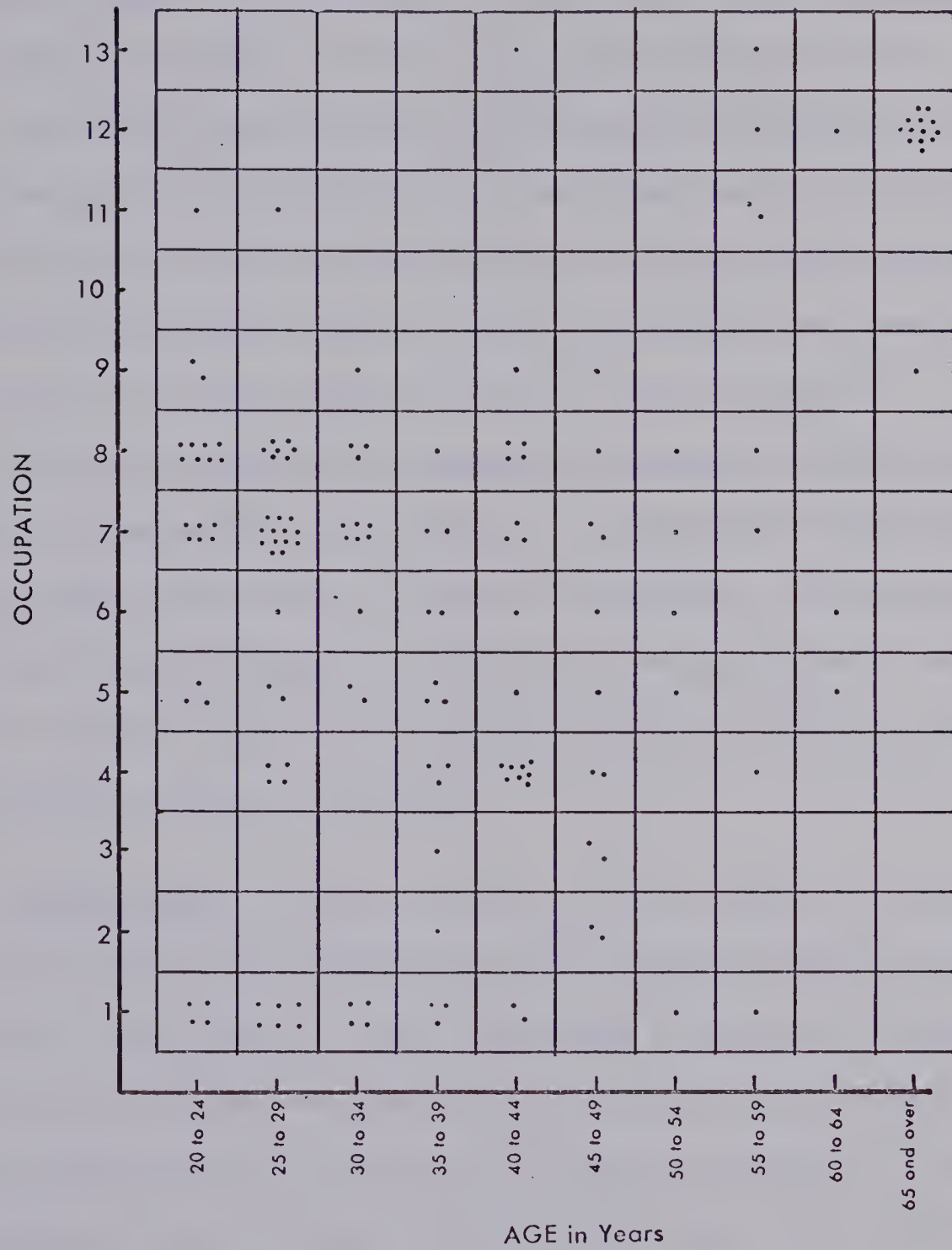


Figure 3.9b

most even spread of frequency throughout the age-groups. Those in agriculture, in contrast, are all between 35 and 49 years of age.

In general, then, the same migrant types and characteristics emerge for Grande Prairie as for the whole area, with the exception of the young professionals, who are slightly less important here.

The ratio of participant to non-participant migrants for each age-group is shown in Figure 3.10a. The highest ratio occurs for those 35 to 39 years. The 30 to 34 and 40 to 44 year age-groups have the second and third highest ratios. Those participating the least are again the 20 to 24 year group and those 65 years and older.

The same comparison by occupational categories defines those migrants in managerial and professional and technical occupations who are most often participants in organized activities. (See Figure 3.10b.) The retired and craftsmen and operative workers participate least. The trend is toward a positive relationship between occupational status and participation among the in-migrants.

Spirit River. In Spirit River, the total number of sampled units was twenty, and the total population represented by these units was fifty-six. Here, 70.0 per cent of the heads of the units were male, and only 60.0 per cent were married at the time of interviewing. Single people represented 25.0 per cent of the sample in-migrants, a substantially higher proportion than for the overall group. The data reveal that several of these respondents were associated with the hospital and are from the Philippines, the liaison having been established through

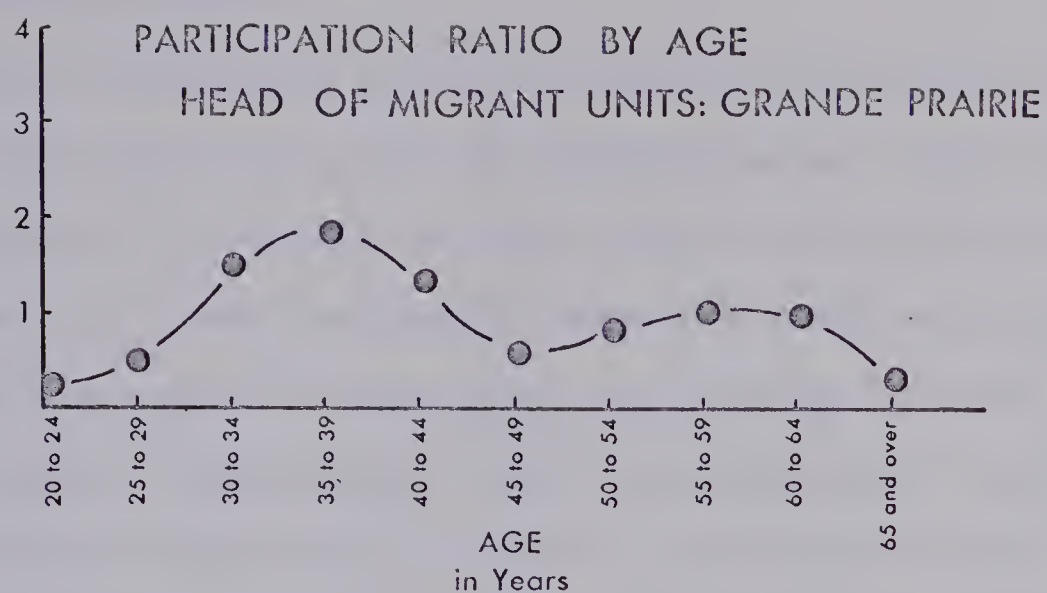


Figure 3.10a

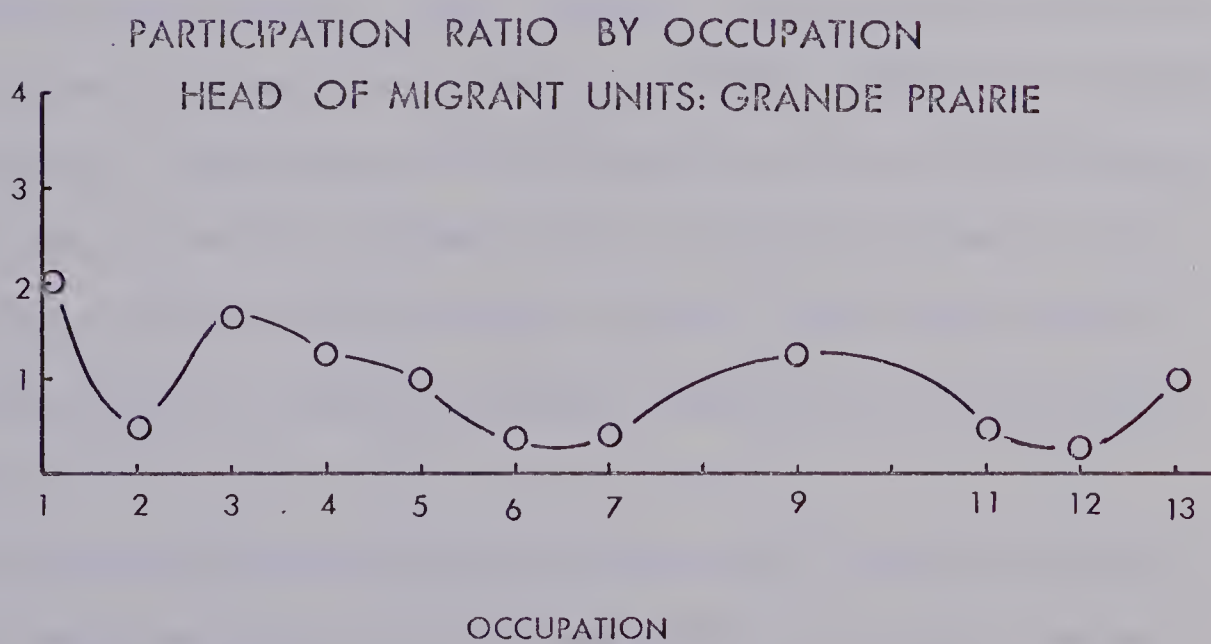


Figure 3.10b

a Nursing Order of Nuns.

The age distribution of heads of migrant units to Spirit River is somewhat more uniform than among the migrant group as a whole, although the proportion of in-migrants less than forty is approximately the same (see Figure 3.2). Among the spouses, there is a considerably higher proportion than average in the 65 years and older age category. Spirit River, therefore, does not appear to be attracting migrants significantly different in age characteristics from the overall migrant type.

Family characteristics of migrants to Spirit River exhibit some differences from those of the total sample (see Figure 3.3). There is an average of 1.6 children per family where the head is or has been married, compared with 2.0 for the total migrant group. Fifty per cent of the sampled units had no children at home. Only 32.2 per cent of the total migrant group belong in this category. Correspondingly, there are relatively fewer families of three or more children among the in-migrants to Spirit River. Eighty-seven and five-tenths per cent of the children are less than 14 years old, and more than one half are between 5 and 9 years of age. In all, there are fewer children, fewer large families, and instead we have what might be broadly interpreted as a more mature population.

A considerably higher portion of the heads of families in Spirit River have completed high school than among the whole migrant sample (57.9 per cent as compared with 42.2 per cent). Similarly, 54.5 per cent of the spouses of this sub-group had completed high school, and only 38.9 per cent of those in the total group were in this category.

Here, however, a much higher proportion of wives had received no other or additional training than in the whole sample. Additional training acquired by the heads of sample units was most often of the technical type.

The most common occupational category from which the migrants to Spirit River came is farmers and farm managers (30.0 per cent). This is higher than the proportion for the total migrant group. (See Figure 3.11.) The service workers and unemployed categories showed much higher proportions among the Spirit River migrants than in the overall group, while the craftsmen and foremen, and the operative categories were comparatively low. It appears then that the occupations from which the in-migrants to Spirit River were drawn are quite different from those of the total migrant group. The function of the town as a rural service centre and its small size will partly explain its power to attract farmers. Its function again accounts for the lack of craftsmen, foremen and operatives being attracted to the town, as it has little industry and consequently few jobs available to such workers. Only 10.0 per cent of those employed came in search of a job. About 43 per cent of those coming from farms (35 per cent) had off-farm employment before moving, and 71.4 per cent still own their land.

In the cross-tabulation of age with occupation for heads of migrant units to Spirit River, the probability that the observed frequency will occur by chance (.09) is greater than the previously accepted level of significance (.05), thus less value can be placed in the distributions observed for Spirit River than for Grande Prairie or the overall

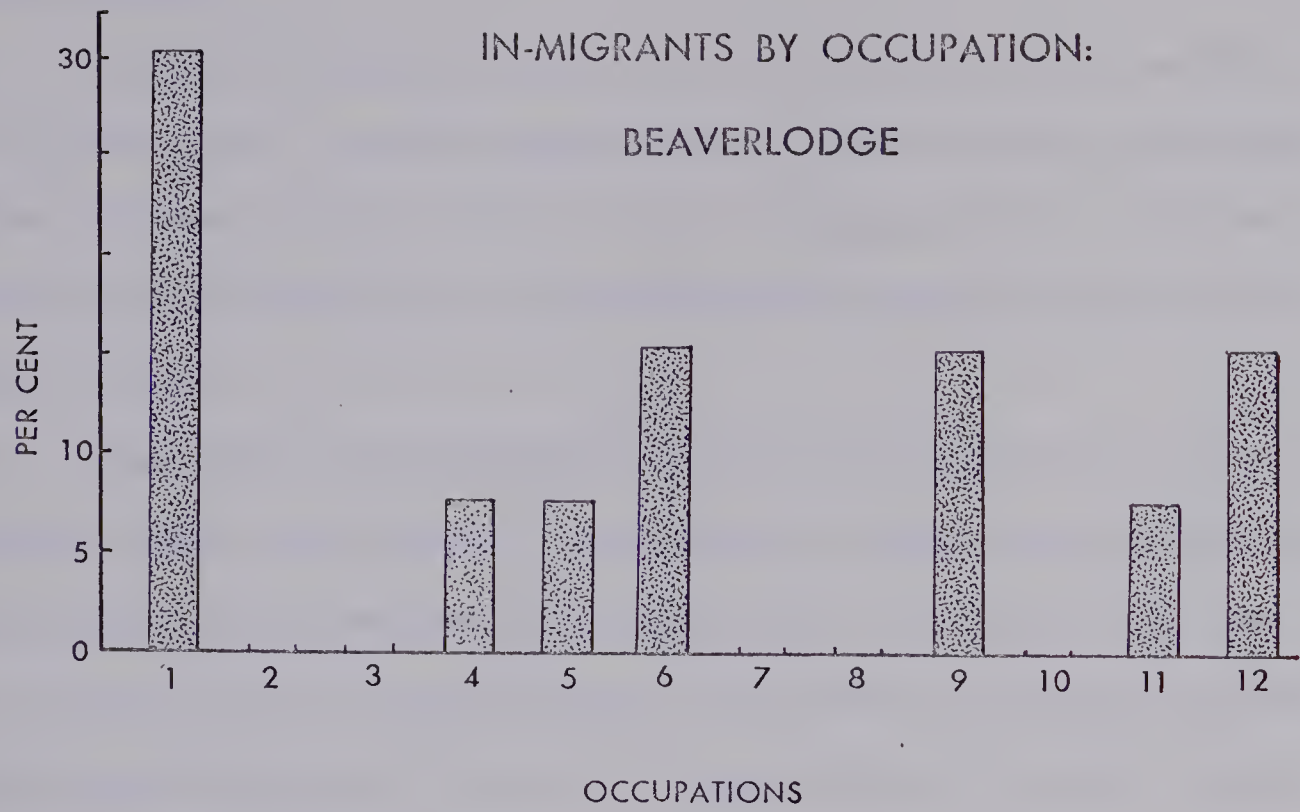


Figure 3.11

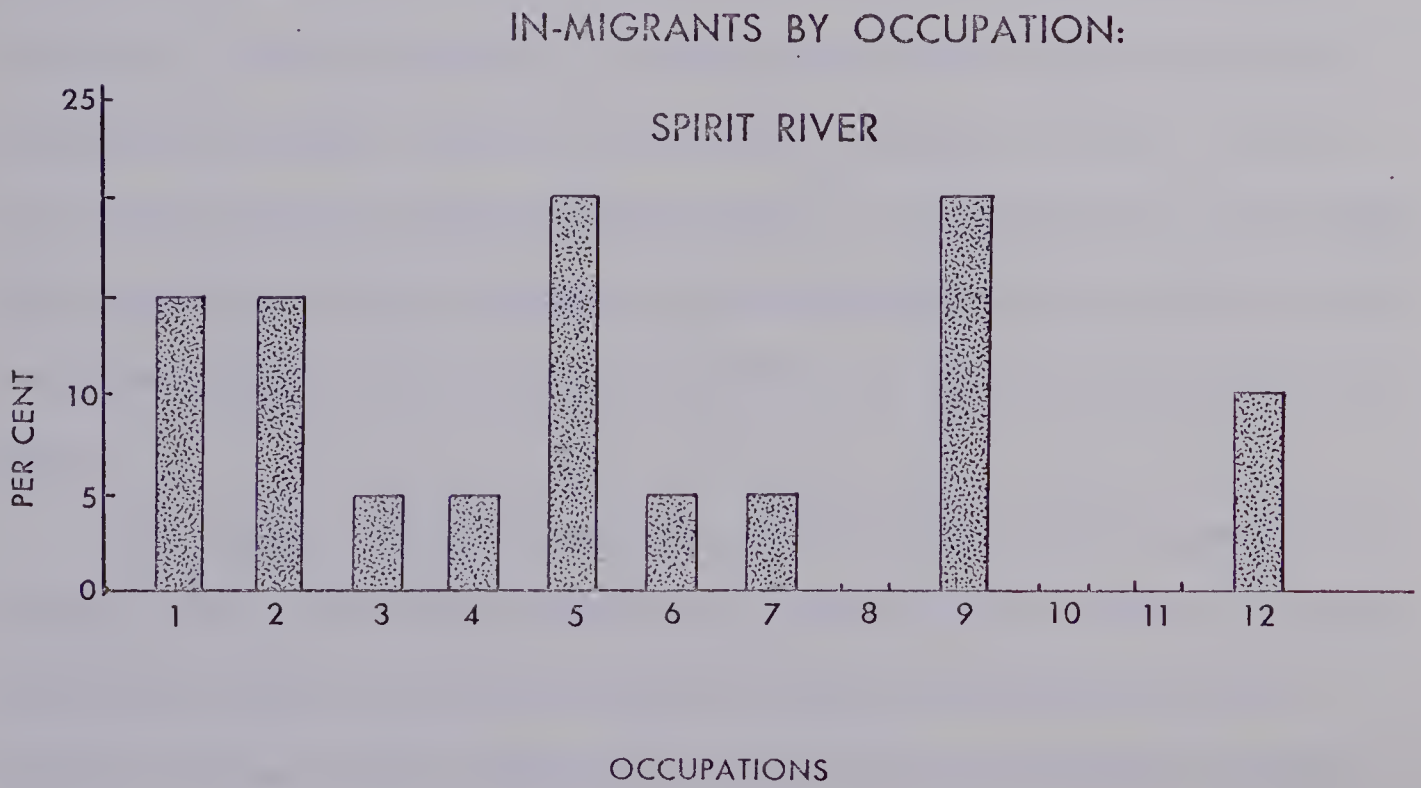


Figure 3.12

sample group.

The most frequently occupied cell identified service workers 20 to 24 years old. A second migrant type is those 55 to 59, and 65 and older who are retired. Each cell has a frequency of two. The same frequency is found for the cell distinguishing professionals 30 to 34 years of age.

When age is cross-classified with participation for the heads of migrant units, a 94.0 per cent probability of significance is obtained. The highest participant-non-participant ratio is obtained for those 25 to 29 years, and the second highest is for the 35 to 39 year age-group. Again, participation of the 20 to 24 year-olds and for older migrants is relatively low.

The probability for the cross-tabulation of occupation with participation is too low to permit interpretation of the results with any certainty. It is interesting, however, that those in agriculture are greater participants than other occupational groups in Spirit River, and greater than the overall migrant group. In general, too, the trend that the higher status occupations, and therefore the more educated, are relatively greater participants than the lower status occupations holds here.

As a whole, the in-migrants to Spirit River exhibit greater differences from the overall migrant group than does the migrant sub-group for Grande Prairie, and it can thus be surmised that Spirit River attracts migrant types in different proportions, or different migrant types, the type being in part a function of the character of the town.

Beaverlodge. In Beaverlodge, twelve of the thirteen heads of the units sampled were male, and the same number (92.3 per cent) were married. There were no single in-migrants to Beaverlodge in the sample. Although a smaller proportion of this sub-group was less than 40 years old than in the total migrant group, a significantly larger proportion (47.5 per cent) was in the 25 to 29 year age-group. Also, as shown by Figure 3.2, 16.7 per cent were 65 years or older and 39.1 per cent were 55 or older. Thus it is clear that the older people are of significant importance within the group of in-migrants.

Of a total of nineteen children at home at the time of the interviewing, eighteen were less than 15 years old, and nine (47.4 per cent) were 5 years or less. The migrant's children are therefore younger than the average for the whole migrant group, reflecting the larger number of migrants in the 25 to 29 year age-group. Family size is smaller than for the total migrant group, 53.8 per cent of the units having either one or two children at home.

Approximately the same percentage of heads of families completed high school in Beaverlodge as in the total sample, but a substantially lower proportion of spouses in Beaverlodge than in the overall group finished high school. A greater proportion of both family heads and their spouses have had professional training than is average for the total sample, and a lower percentage of both have had no other or additional training. In general, then, the migrants to Beaverlodge seem to have higher levels of education than the total migrant group, although there is a significant group of less well-educated spouses. The role

of the Agricultural Experimental Station in attracting a better educated migrant may be important here.

The occupations of migrants to Beaverlodge before their move reflect their higher level of educational attainment (see Figure 3.12). Twenty-five per cent were in professional and technical occupations, and one third were craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers. A further 25.0 per cent were farmers, suggesting the dual nature of the town as a small rural service centre, and as the location of the experimental station which offers opportunity to and attracts highly skilled people. Only 10.0 per cent of the migrants arrived without having first secured employment. Of three migrant units coming from farms, none had off-farm employment, and one retained ownership of his land.

The probability that the cross-tabulations between age and occupation for heads of migrant units to Beaverlodge will not occur by chance is just .87, therefore inferences drawn from it must be so qualified. Migrant types delineated in the matrix are the 25 to 29 year-old professional and technical in-migrants, and the retired-over 65 year group. Twenty-five per cent of the migrants were accounted for by the former group, and a further 16.7 per cent belonged to the latter group. The total number of occurrences was not adequate to make further interpretations from the table.

For both the occupation-participation and the age-participation tables, the probability that the distribution occurs by chance is about one quarter; thus, little faith can be attached to any interpretations of them. The young, however, seem to be generally greater participants,

as does the professional-technical occupational category. For the most part, the same sorts of relationships as in the total sample appear to be maintained.

The Impact of In-Migrants on Their Destinations

The effects of in-migrants on the character of their place of destination must be determined with reference to the extent to which the migrant population is different from that already at the destination. If the migrant exhibits no different characteristics from those already resident there, his entry into that society will have less impact on its nature than if he were quite different from the established populace. This is not to say that the volume of migration itself will not have an impact on the nature of the destination--for instance, it may increase the level and variety as well as the number of services available. In addition, the activities of the migrant at his destination will have an effect on that destination. The impact of a similar migrant type will vary as the nature of the destination, and therefore each destination must be considered independently. The data for the base population of each town are from the Census of Canada, 1966.

Grande Prairie. The extent to which the age structure of the population 20 years and older differed from that of those moving into Grande Prairie is shown in Figure 3.13. The in-migrant population is seen to be younger than the resident population. Sixty-six and one-tenth per cent of the in-migrants are less than 40 years of age, while 54.1 per cent of the established residents belong to this group. The most

IN-MIGRANTS AND BASE POPULATION (1966) BY AGE:

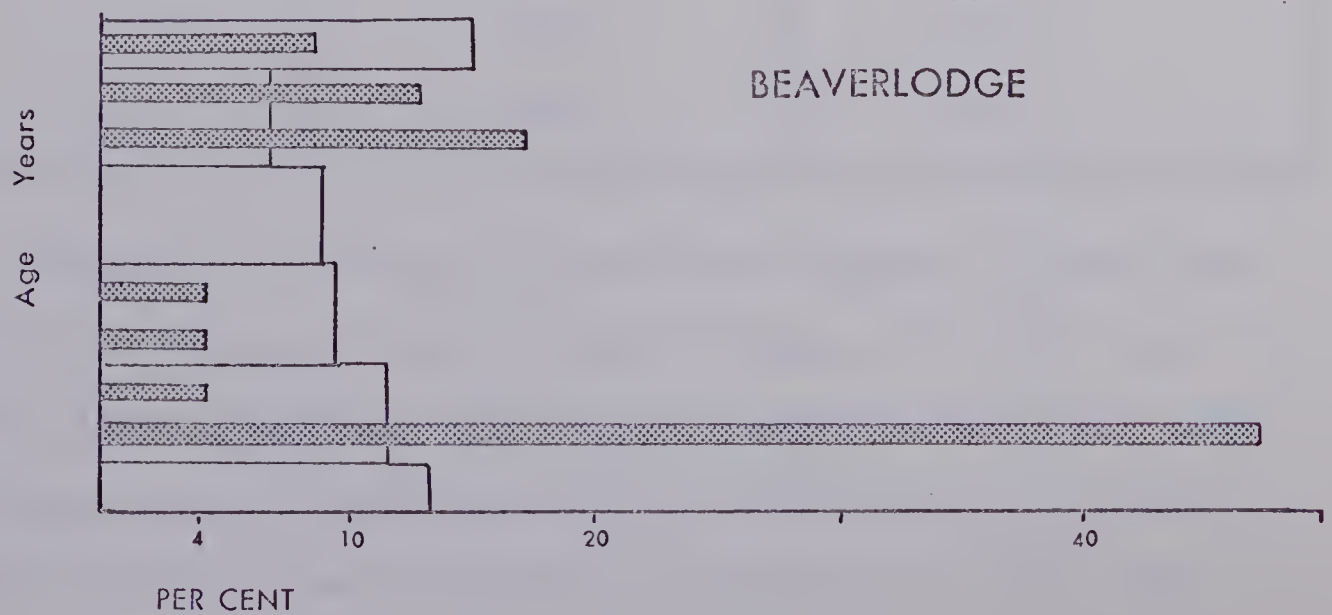
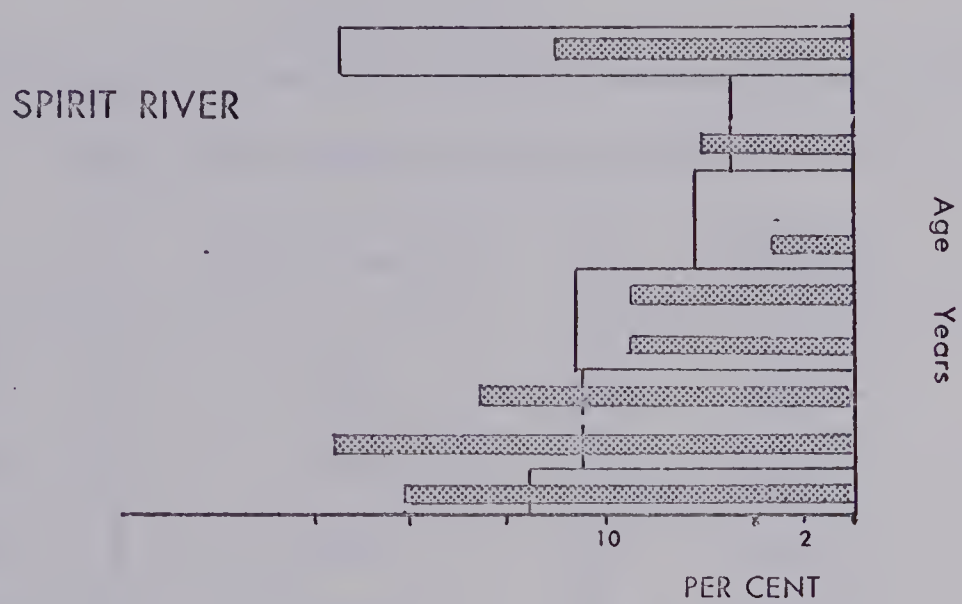
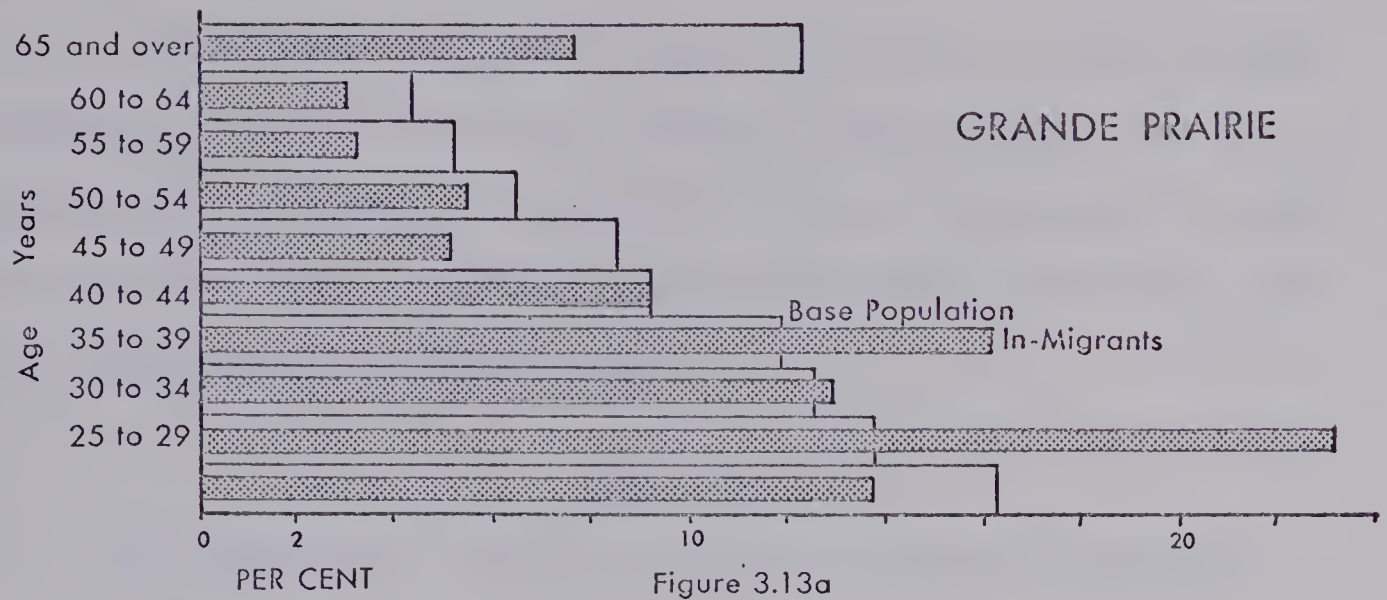


Figure 3.13b

striking difference between the two occurs for the 25 to 29 year age-group. Twenty-three and two-tenths per cent of the in-migrants and 13.7 per cent of the residents belong to this group. It is those age categories of 45 and older which display a lower proportion of in-migrants than residents. In-migration, then, is increasing the proportion of Grande Prairie residents between 25 and 44 years of age--the adult population is becoming younger.

TABLE 3.1

AGE DISTRIBUTION: MIGRANT CHILDREN AND RESIDENT POPULATION,
GRANDE PRAIRIE

	Percentage Population Under 21 Years	
	Grande Prairie	In-Migrant
0-4	29.3	27.4
5-9	27.5	27.4
10-14	23.0	24.2
15-19	<u>20.2</u>	<u>21.0</u>
	100.0	100.0

Differences in the age distribution of migrants' children and residents' children are small for Grande Prairie. (See Table 3.1.) A slightly larger proportion of the resident children are in the younger age-groups, thus the migrant group is not contributing to increased youthfulness of the lower age-groups. It is also to be noted that

20.7 per cent of the sample units had more children at the time of interviewing than when they moved to the city. Eighty and nine-tenths per cent of the residents' children were 14 years of age or less; 79.8 per cent of the migrants' children are in this category; thus, the difference is negligible. There are proportionately fewer families of five or more children among the in-migrants than among the residents, but a greater percentage of the in-migrants have three or four children than do the residents. The effect of age structure may be important in explaining this distinction.

A greater proportion of in-migrants to Grande Prairie participated in organizations than those in either of the smaller towns. Forty-three and four-tenths per cent of the heads of migrant units, and 41.9 per cent of their spouses took part in some organized activity. Forty-two and nine-tenths per cent of the migrants' children were participants. All participants came from only 68 of the 150 (or 45.3 per cent) migrant units, indicating that the unit as a whole was either "participant" or "non-participant." The proportion of all migrants in various types of organizations is shown in Figure 3.14. It can be seen that a number of migrant units take part in more than one organization of the same type.

The occupations of migrants to Grande Prairie both influence and are a response to the character of the town. Only 9.7 per cent of the labour force in Grande Prairie in 1961 was employed in professional and technical occupations, while 15.0 per cent of the in-migrants took these types of work. (See Figure 3.15.) This sector appears to be expanding and also to be capable of attracting people of these occupational groups

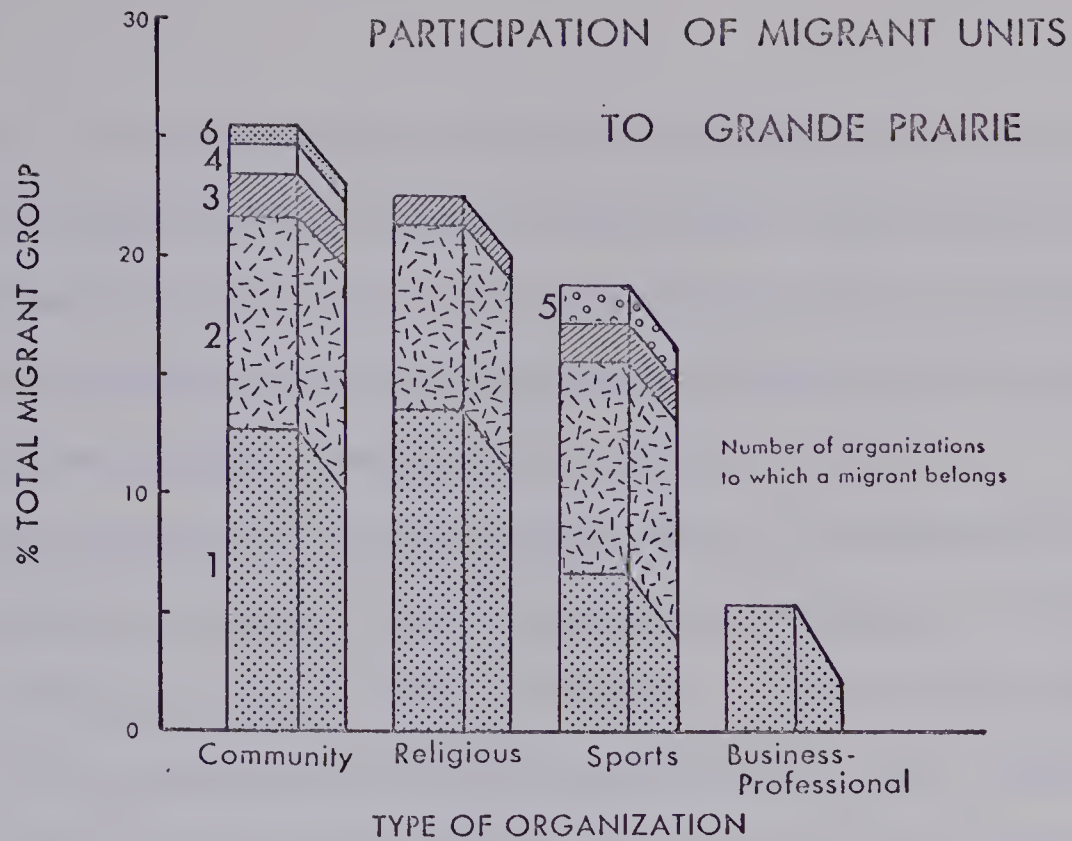


Figure 3.14

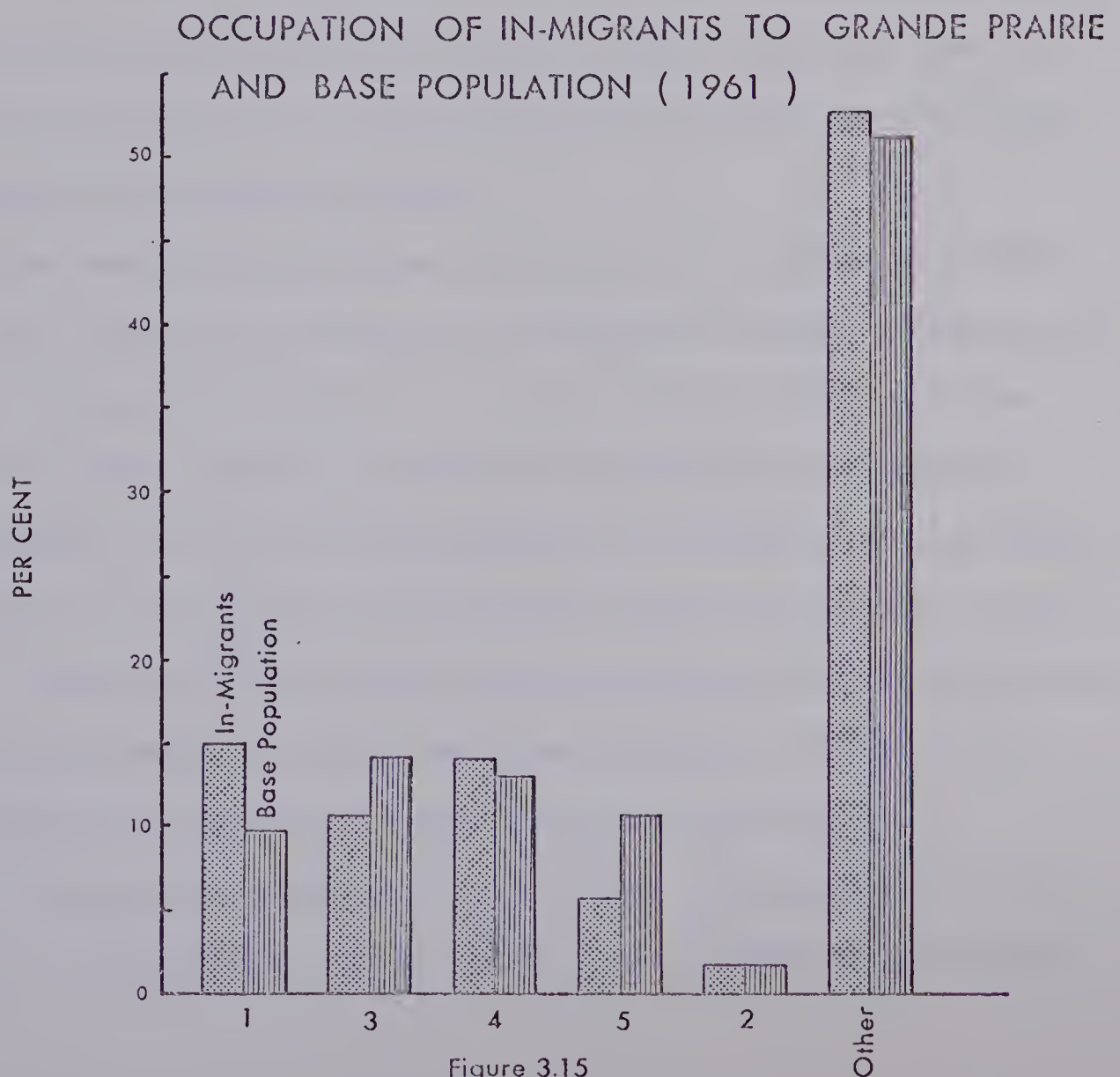


Figure 3.15

to the town. Since these are the relatively high-income groups, an increasing proportion of residents in this sector will generate a larger upper-income group, more "free" money for the pursuit of commodities desired by this group, and perhaps a resultant expansion in these aspects of the economic structure of the city.

The proportion of migrants taking jobs in the managerial and sales occupations was less than the proportion of people in Grande Prairie already employed in those occupations. For the clerically occupied, the percentage for both groups was about equal. Farmers were in slightly greater proportion among the in-migrants than the resident population. The increasing incidence of non-resident farming might be postulated; however, the migrant sample in this sector was small, and the disparity in time between the interview and the census data makes such inference dangerous.

The remaining occupational groups were not comparable individually, due to the use of different classification systems. These groups together, however, accounted for 51.2 per cent of the labour force resident in 1961, and 52.7 per cent of the sample of in-migrants. It seems probable that much of the difference is attributable to a larger proportion of in-migrants in the craftsmen-foremen and operative categories, since much of the recent industrial growth of the city has been in industries which are larger employers of people with such skills (for example, the trucking and wood products industries).

Of the migrant wives who are not heads of a sampled unit, 19.7 per cent are employed outside the home in Grande Prairie, and several

who were not working indicated their intention was to find employment. Twenty-one and three-tenths per cent were employed before moving to Grande Prairie. Of those now working, about four fifths work full time and one fifth work part time. Clerical occupations employ 37.5 per cent, 20.8 per cent are professional or technical workers, and 25.0 per cent are service workers. All have held only one job since moving. The industry in which most working wives are found is the professional and related services (41.7 per cent). This group includes such occupations as teaching; nursing, and school caretakers. A further 20.8 per cent of the working wives are employed in the wholesale and retail trade industries.

Heads of the migrant units are most often employed in the wholesale and the retail trade industries (20.6 per cent), and transportation, communication, and public utilities industries (18.3 per cent). As Figure 3.16 shows, manufacturing, and professional and related services industries also employ a substantial proportion of the in-migrants (13.5 per cent each).

Eighty-three and five-tenths per cent of the family heads have held only one job in Grande Prairie, and 12.8 per cent have had two jobs. The remainder have worked at three or more jobs since moving.

The city, then, appears to be becoming younger and having an increased proportion of skilled people moving into it. The number of children and size of family are about the same for the in-migrants as for the residents. Most labour is entering the "growth" industries of the town, though the high-level service sector is expanding rapidly in

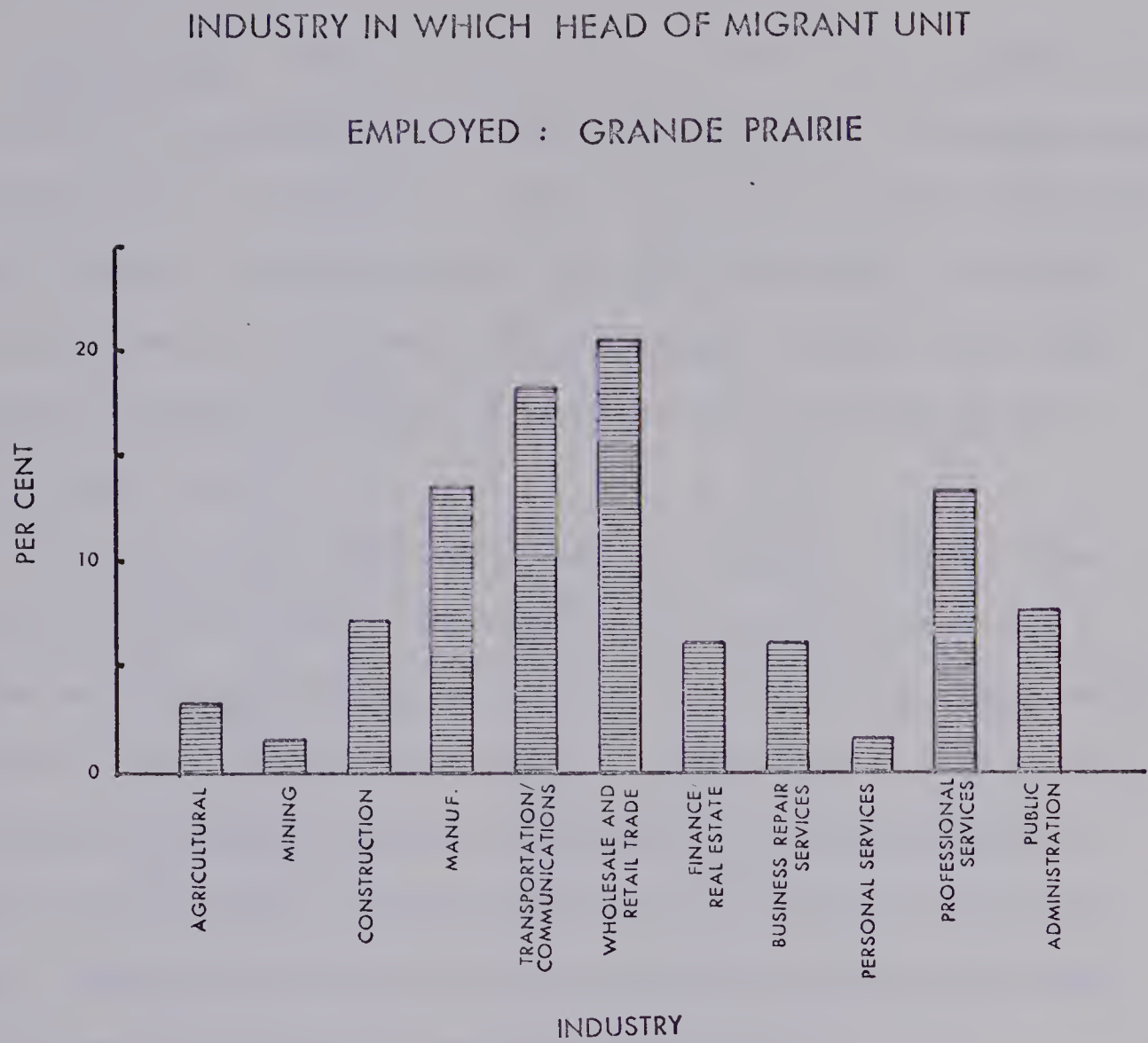


Figure 3.16

terms of labour contribution from the in-migrants.

Spirit River. When the age structure of the adult population in Spirit River is compared with the adult in-migrants, it is evident that the migrants are, on the whole, a younger population than the population already resident. Whereas only 12.1 per cent of the adult in-migrants were 65 or over, 21.0 per cent of those resident in Spirit River were in this age category. Figure 3.13 contrasts the age structures for the two populations.

The in-migrants appear to have smaller families than the "base" population of Spirit River. One third of the married migrants had no children and another 40.0 per cent had one or two children. Comparative figures for those already resident were 28.0 per cent and 37.6 per cent. The migrants' children, however, are younger, 87.5 per cent being 14 years of age or younger, compared with 80.7 per cent of the base population. That migrant families are both smaller and younger indicates that the town's population is becoming more youthful.

The industries in which the greatest proportion of heads of migrant units work are the wholesale and retail trade industries, and the professional and related services, each employing 27.8 per cent of the migrants. (Figure 3.17.)

Agricultural industries were relatively important in Spirit River, employing 22.2 per cent of the newcomers. Of the heads of the migrant units, 77.8 per cent had only one job since moving to Spirit River, and 16.7 per cent had two jobs.

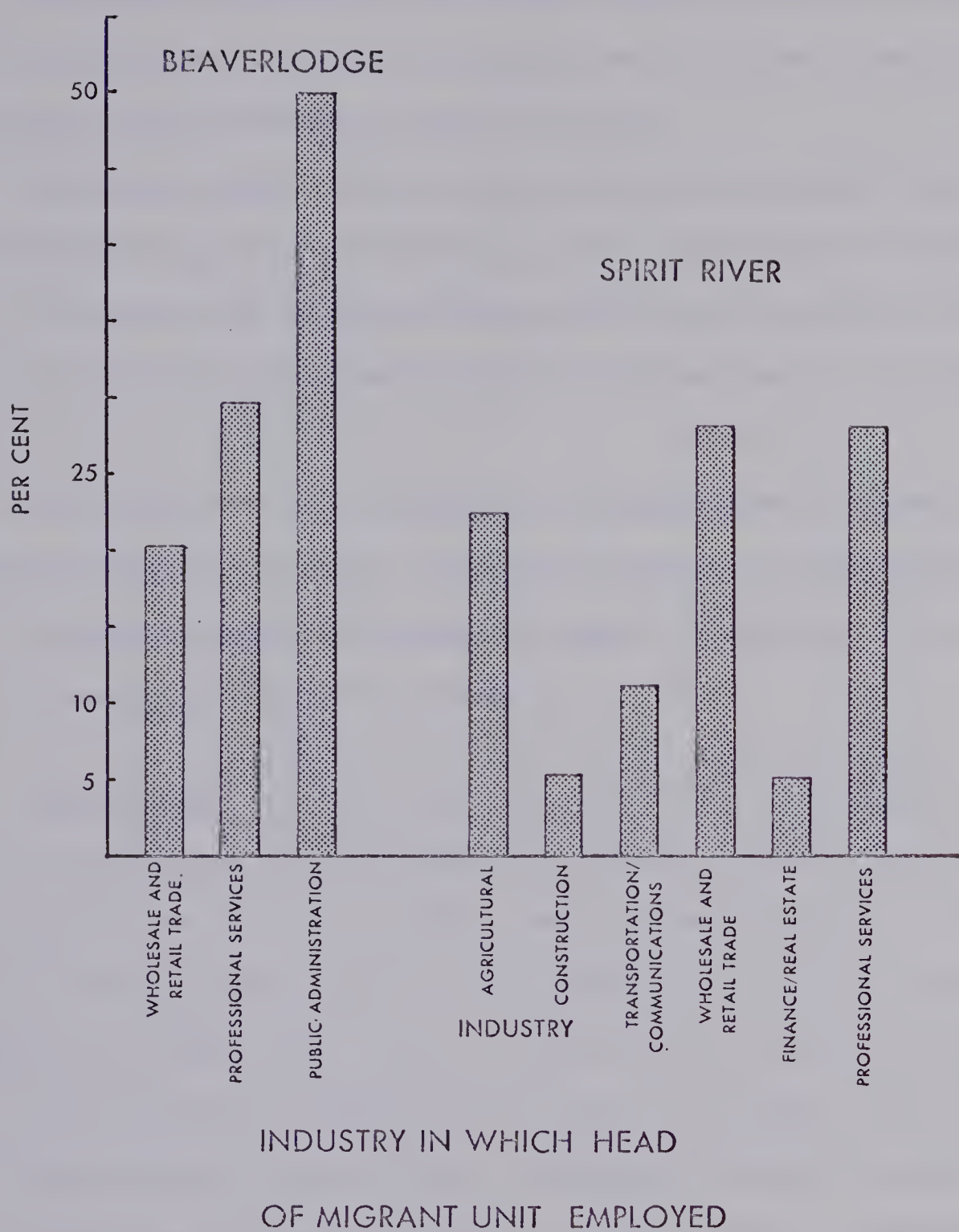


Figure 3.17

Only two of the twelve spouses were employed outside the home--one in a professional-technical occupation and the other in sales. One was employed full time and the other part time.

Thirty and eight-tenths per cent of the spouses and 35.0 per cent of the heads of migrant units belonged to some organization in Spirit River. Only one third of their children took part in organized activities and all of the participants came from 35.0 per cent of the migrant units.

In summary, the adult population of Spirit River is becoming younger through in-migration. The migrant families are both young and small. The small sample size prevents adequate comparison of the data for the drawing of any useful inferences.

Beaverlodge. In Beaverlodge, the proportion of in-migrants in both the younger and older age-groups is greater than the proportion of those residing in the town in 1966. There are relatively few in-migrants in the middle age-groups. This is reflected also by the lower number of children per migrant unit--only 1.6. Ninety-four and seven-tenths per cent of the children of migrants were 14 years or younger, with 47.4 per cent being less than five years old. The migrant families are thus young, in contrast to the age structure of those under 20, already in Beaverlodge. (See Figure 3.13.) The young and old population of the community are being increased in their proportions by in-migration.

The industries employing most of the heads of migrant units to Beaverlodge are different in nature from those of Spirit River or Grande

Prairie, and mirror the influence of the Canadian Forces Base and the Agricultural Research Station on the town. (See Figure 3.16.) Fifty per cent were employed in public administration and 30.0 per cent in professional and related services. None has had more than one job in Beaverlodge.

Only one of eleven spouses was employed outside the home, full time in a clerical position at the Canadian Forces Base.

One third of the heads of families participated in any organization, and 27.2 per cent of the spouses were participants. Only 12.5 per cent of the children took part in organizations in the town, and all of the participants came from four migrant units.

The effect on Beaverlodge of migrants to the town will therefore be mainly in the changing of its age structure. Unless government policy leads to a rapid increase in the size of the Experimental Station or the Armed Forces base, the capability of the town to support commercial facilities and services will probably remain static. Migrants in these occupational groups will thus not be attracted. The growing proportion of older people suggests in-migration upon retirement and the facilities required by them will be different from those desired by other age-groups.

Conclusions

The in-migrants to the three study areas exhibit certain characteristics which are different from those of the base population from which nearly all of them came. They are, for the most part, in the younger adult age-groups, and on the whole they are younger than the overall

Canadian population.

Most migrants are married, and most heads of the migrant units are male. Families are generally young and of small to average size, reflecting the young adult age-structure. Migrant children are slightly younger than Canadian children; otherwise family characteristics of the migrant group do not distinguish them from the Canadian population as a whole.

Less than one half the migrant group have completed high school, and less than one half have no other or additional training.

The occupation from which the largest number of in-migrants came is agriculture. That in which most were employed after moving is the craftsmen and foremen group. Other major occupations of the in-migrants are the professional-technical and operative groups. A substantial number of in-migrants have retired upon moving, most of them being in the 65 years and over age-group. These people comprise one of five distinguishable migrant types who have moved to all three centres. Their contribution to the total migrant group in each town varies with the town. The other four migrant types are: professional and technical workers 25 to 29 years of age; craftsmen and foremen of the same age category; managers, proprietors, and officials between 35 and 40 years old; and operative workers aged 20 to 29 years.

It is clear, then, that there are some characteristics and combinations of characteristics which identify a substantial proportion of the migrants into the study centres. By analogy these types of people are more likely to become migrants to the area.

CHAPTER IV

THE MOVE

Introduction

In addition to studying the nature of the people who migrate, one must, to explain the patterns of migration, consider the nature of the move itself. This is the second of the two basic sets of variables which describe a migration, and it is seen to comprise the right half of the proposed migration model (Figure 1.2.).

It is convenient to distinguish, for purposes of the discussion, two aspects of the move--the journey and the motives associated with the move. In Chapter IV, characteristics of the journey, the motives, and the relations between them will be considered in an attempt to explain this part of the model. Certain relationships between the journey and the motives and between characteristics of the move and the migrants can be postulated. These form the subject of Chapter IV.

The Journey

It is hypothesized that several aspects of the journey show some regularities among migrants to the study areas.

That the volume of migration is in some way inversely related to the distance of the move, and directly related to the size or functions of places of origin¹ and destination, are basic concepts of the gravity

¹For all migrants, place of origin is taken as the nearest post office, and the size of this "central place" is used in later discussion (below, page 84).

models. The reasoning inherent in the distance concept is that with increasing distance, there is a decrease in the information flow from a potential destination. This inverse relation of volume of migration to distance holds in a general way for the study area as a whole. It can be seen in Figure 4.1 that almost one third of the in-migrants came from fifty miles away or less. Contrary to this relationship, yet not unexpectedly in view of several areal factors, is that 57.5 per cent of the migrants came from two hundred miles away or more. Of this group, about 20 per cent were from Edmonton and another 10 per cent from Calgary. The lack of people from 50 to 200 miles and, indeed, the distribution of origins from all distances, is to a large extent a function of the total population within each distance category. This would be expected from the second, that is, the size concept of the gravity model. In addition, the resource-pioneer nature of the area, so far as its stage of economic development is concerned, means that a considerable number of skills from outside the region will be required, and that the area is one appealing to the "opportunity seeker."

Figure 4.2 compares the distribution of migrants among distance categories for the three sample towns. It can be seen that approximately the same distribution of migrants by distance moved occurs for each of the three places. Figures 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5 show the direction and volume of migrants to Grande Prairie, Spirit River, and Beaverlodge respectively, along with the radial boundaries of the distance classification used to derive Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

Another "measure" associated with the journey is the location by

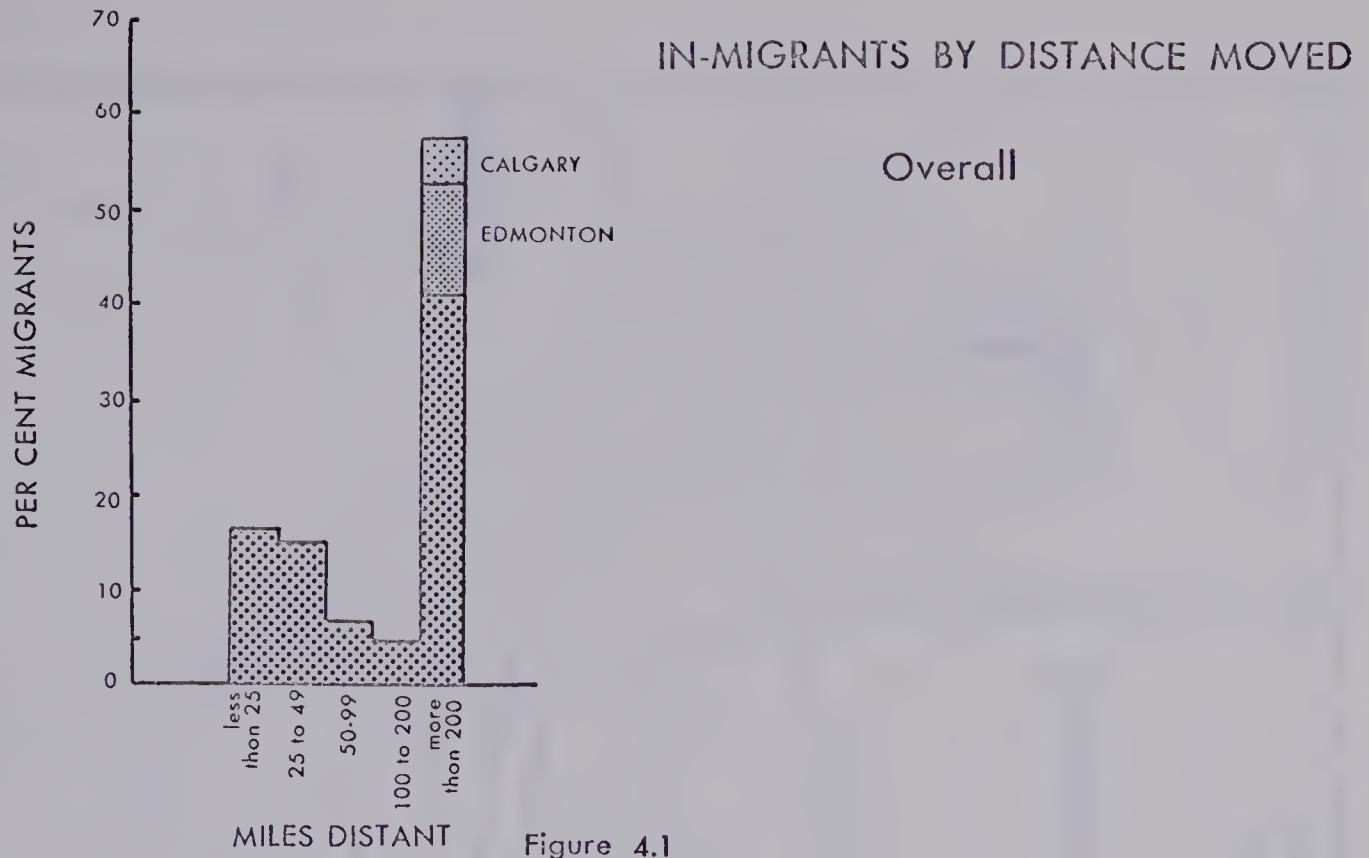


Figure 4.1

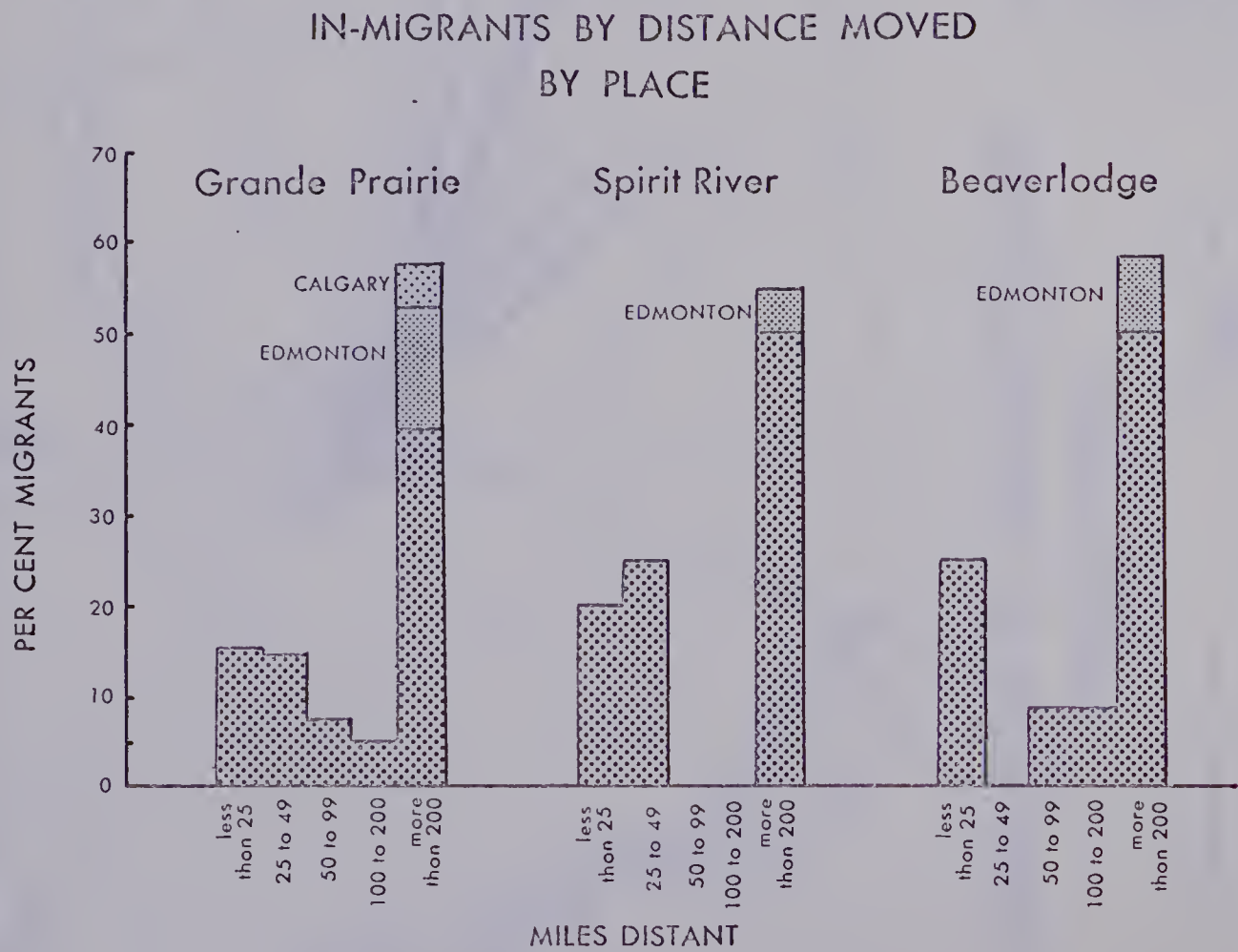


Figure 4.2

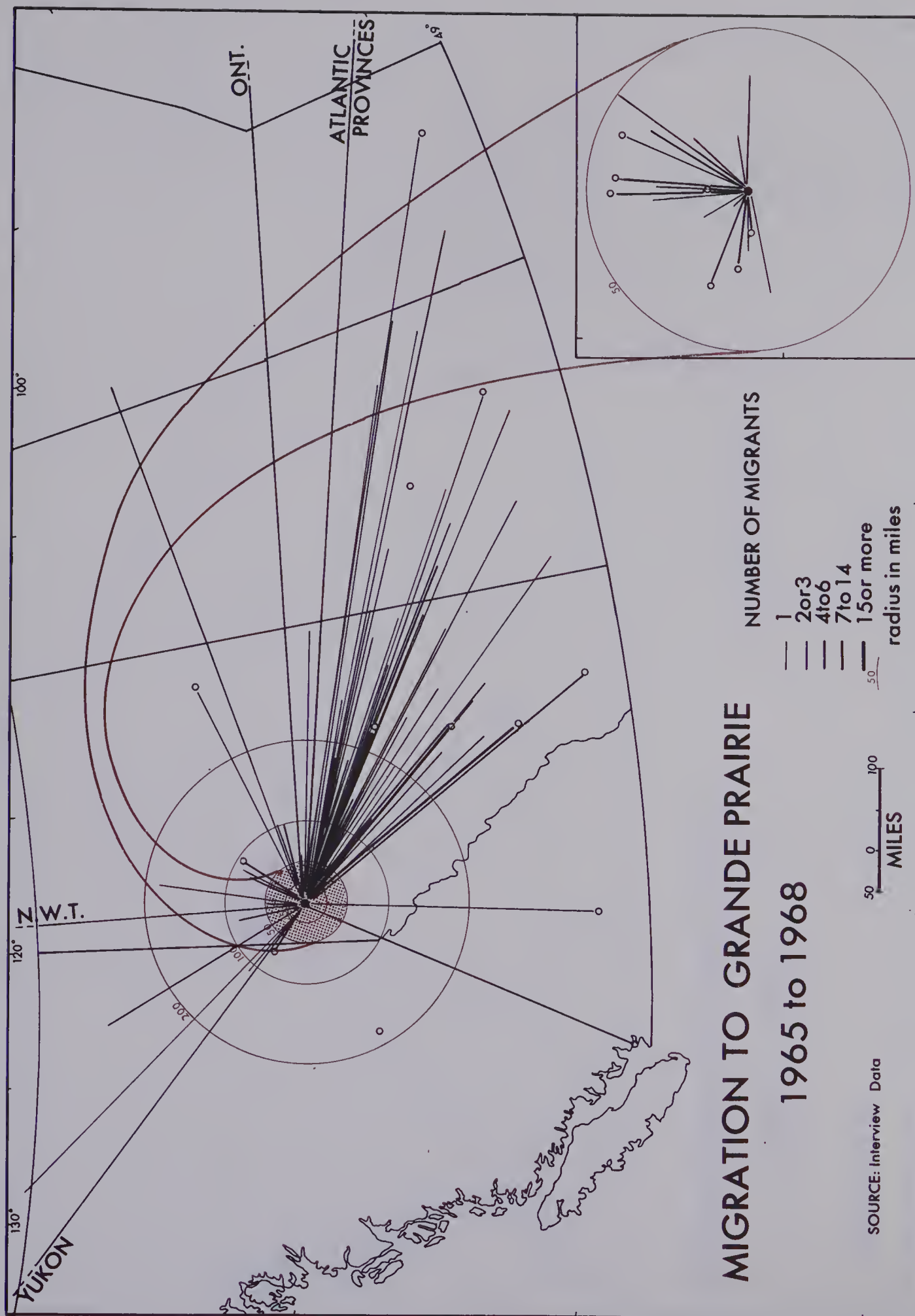


Figure 4.3

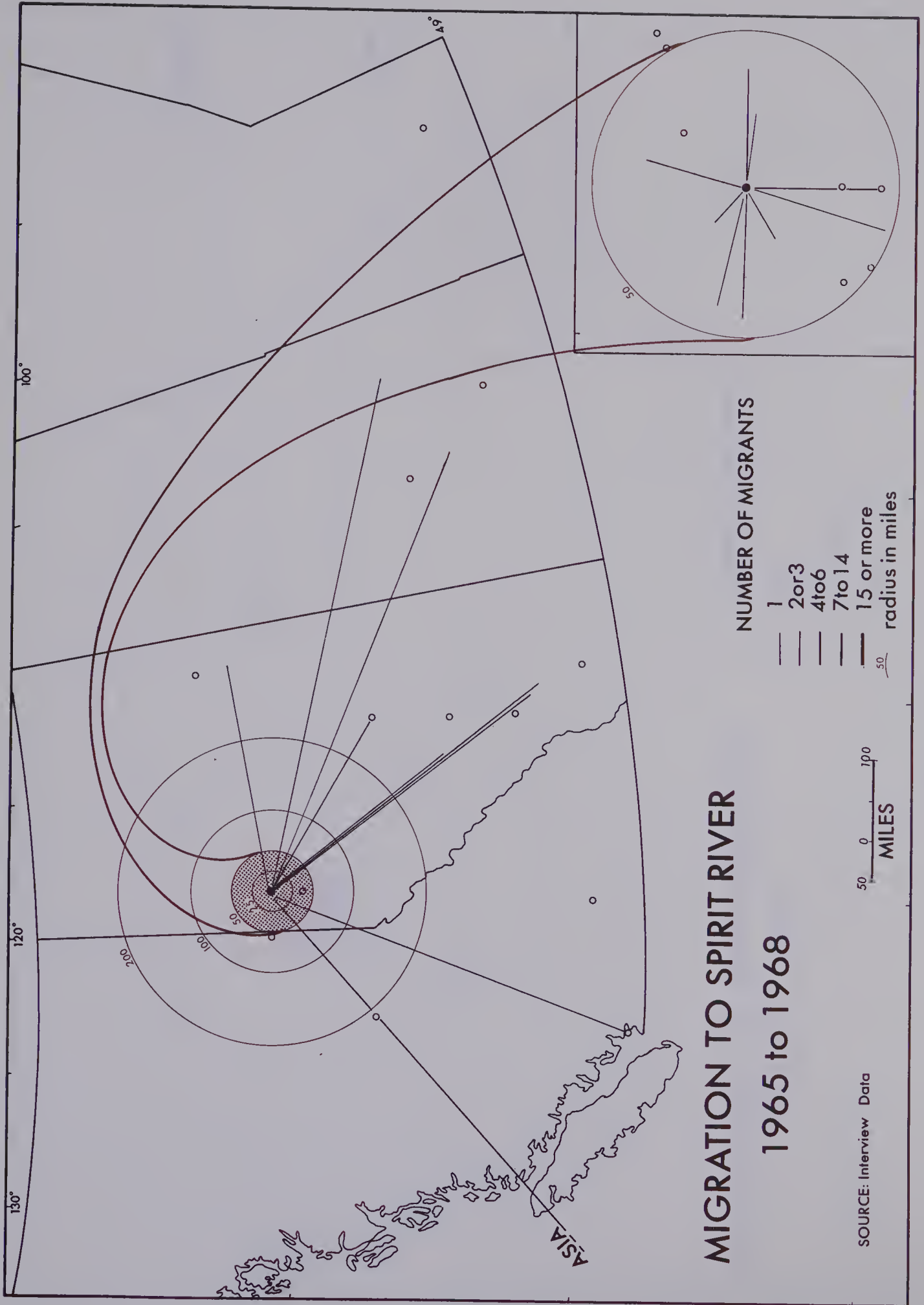


Figure 4.4

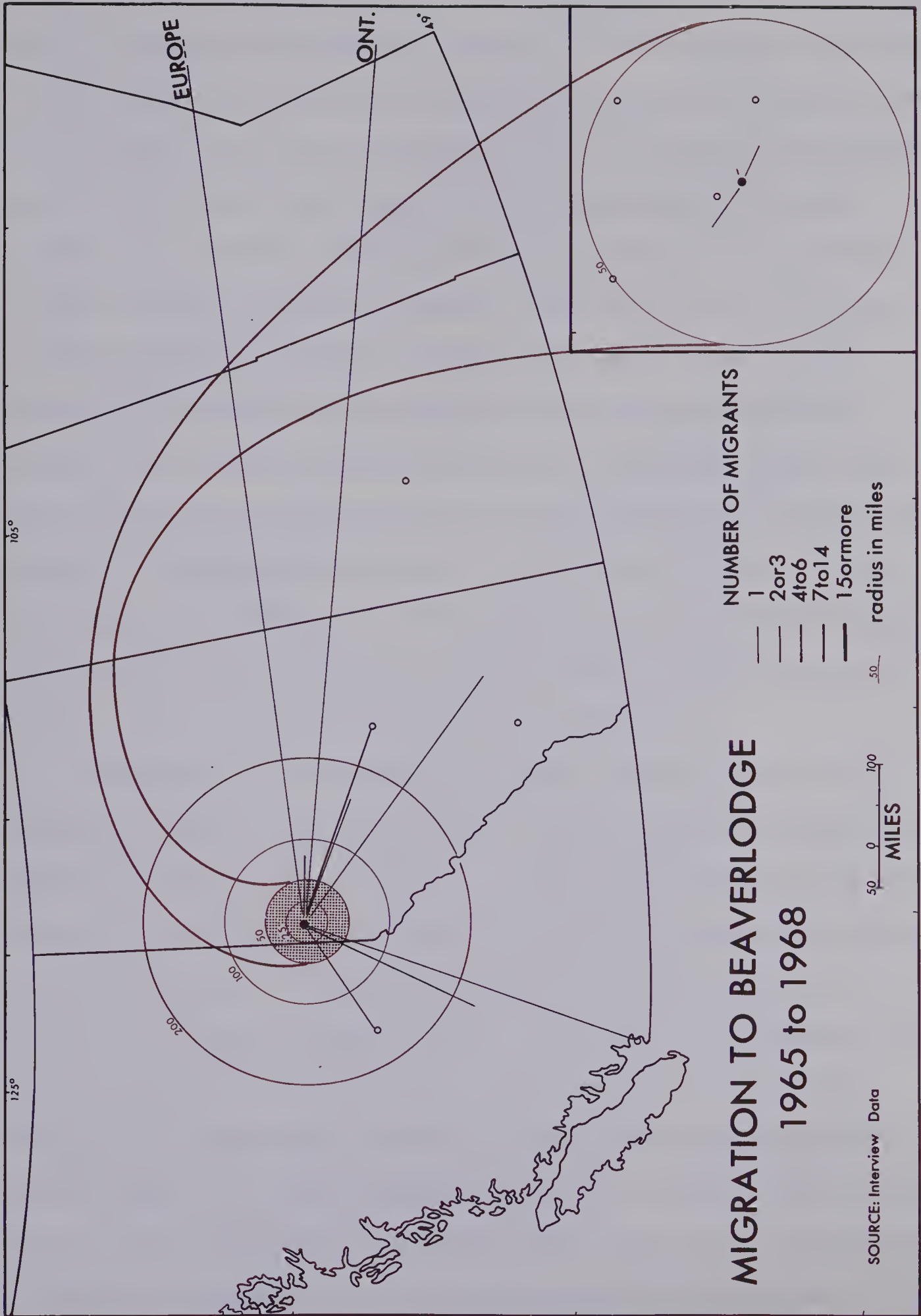


Figure 4.5

area or by region of the place of origin. As has already been mentioned, 4.4 per cent of the migrants came from outside Canada, but none of these was from the U.S.A. It is interesting that 41.2 per cent of all migrants came from within the Peace region of Alberta and British Columbia.

Migrants from provinces other than Alberta accounted for 24.1 per cent of those sampled. By far the majority, then, were from within Alberta, a finding which is consistent with what Leroy Stone (1969, p. 64) suggests to be true--that the volume of intra-provincial migration exceeds that of migration between provinces. He further suggests that inter-provincial migration between contiguous provinces is greater than between non-contiguous provinces. This is shown to be true also for the study area, in Figure 4.6. Migration from Saskatchewan far exceeds that from any other province, and British Columbia provides the second largest number of in-migrants from any one province.

The decline of the smallest settlements and the growth of the larger is a notable trend in the Peace. Rates of growth of incorporated centres in 1961, for the period 1961 to 1966, were correlated with their ranked size at the beginning of that period using Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient. The obtained value was .64, significant at the .1 per cent level using Students' T-test. This trend is illustrated in the observed migrations, where 65.9 per cent of the people moved from a smaller to a larger centre, and only 34.1 per cent from a larger to a smaller centre. For Grande Prairie, the figures were 66.7 per cent and 33.3 per cent respectively. For Spirit River, 75.0 per cent moved from a smaller to a larger place, but in Beaverlodge the figures were

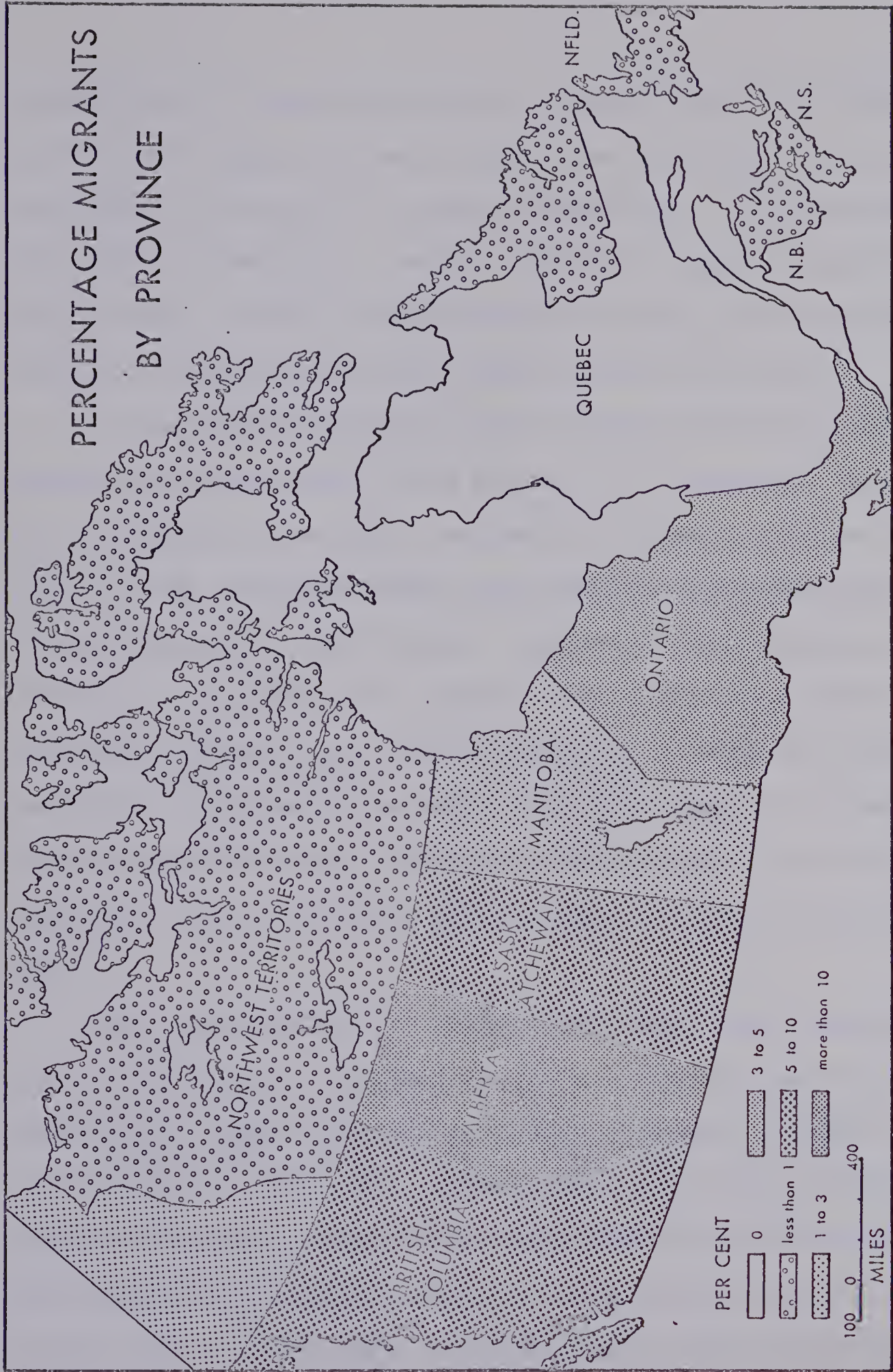


Figure 4.6

reversed--only 33.3 per cent moving to a larger centre. The explanation for this lies in previous observations of the occupational structure of Beaverlodge, in relation to its small absolute size. Of those moving from within the Peace, 91.7 per cent moved from a smaller place to a larger place. It must be noted, however, that most of the sample were residents of Grande Prairie, the largest centre in the Peace.

Total populations of the places from which the migrants came were grouped into seven classes. From Figure 4.7 it is seen that the proportion of migrants to the study area peaks at the smallest and the largest places, though the largest single group (32.7 per cent) come from places of populations less than 500. Centres of 100,000 or more contributed 21.6 per cent of the migrants. The proportion of migrants coming from places of less than 500 population is larger for Beaverlodge and Spirit River than for the total. Correspondingly, it is less from places larger than 100,000. This may again be related to both the size and nature of the destination, and the number of places in each size class.

The large proportion of migrants from large places, especially to Grande Prairie, may be explained with reference to the same factors explaining the large proportion of migrants from great distances. Grande Prairie being the focal point of development in the Peace and subsequently the location of much of the administration and service facilities requires skilled people likely to have gained experience in larger places. That 28 of 33 people from places larger than 100,000 were from Edmonton and Calgary indicates the importance of these two centres as

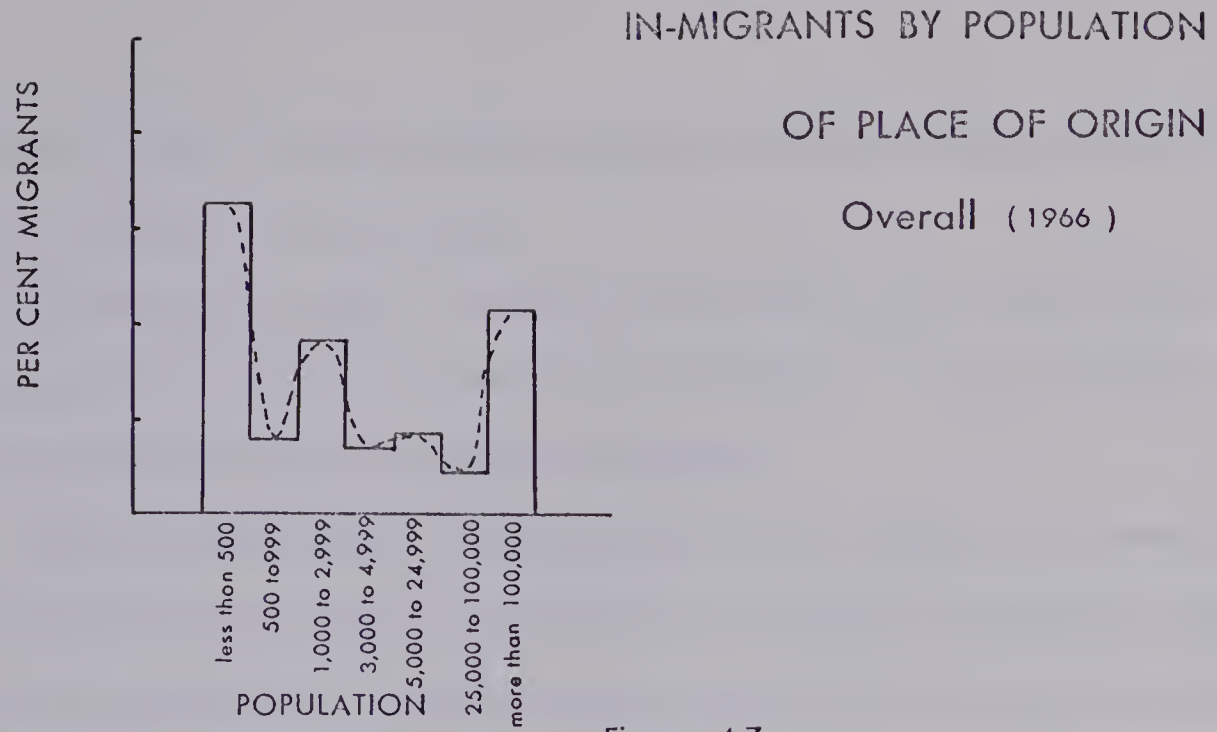


Figure 4.7

Source: D.B.S. Census of Canada, 1966

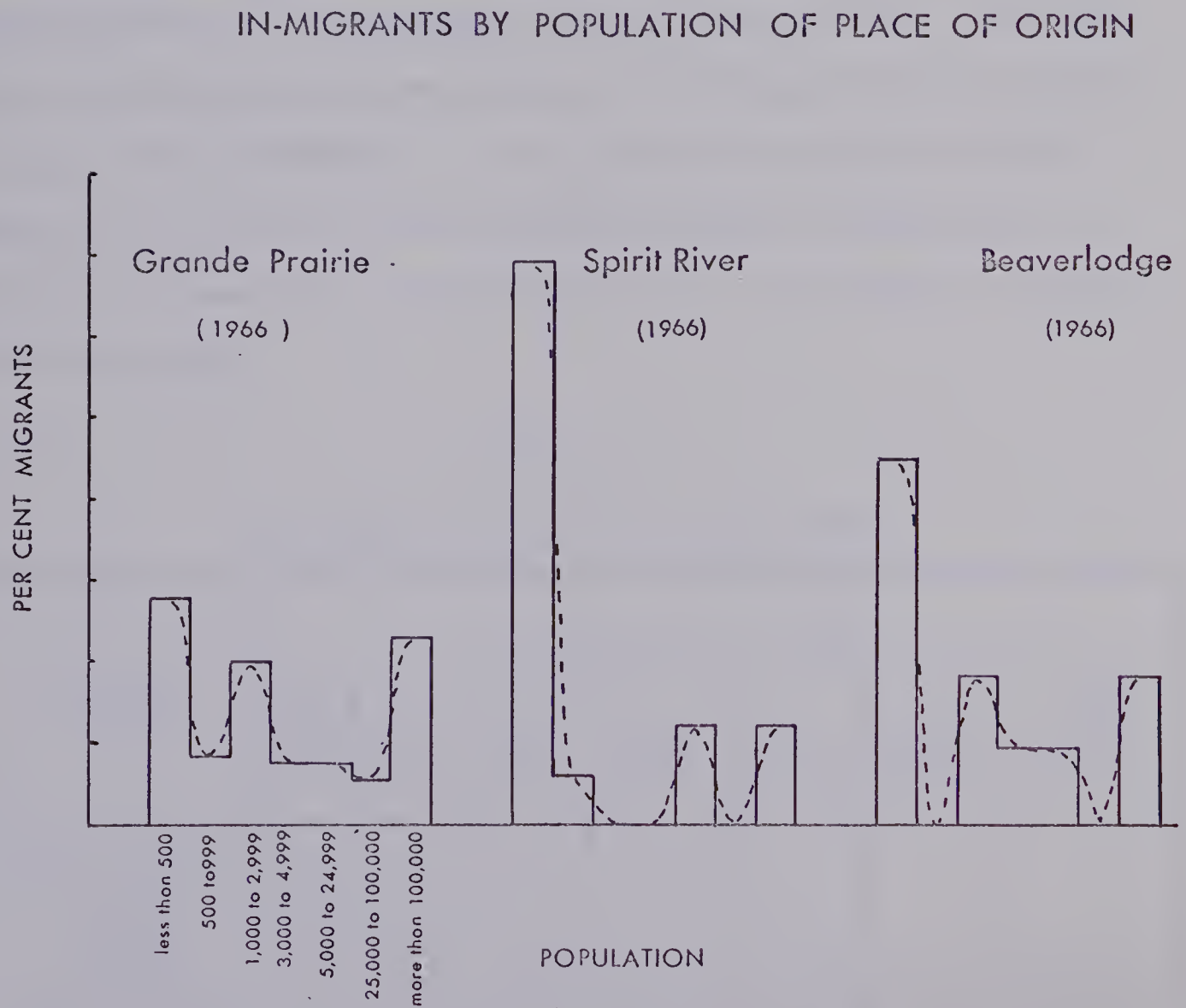


Figure 4.8

Source: D.B.S. Census of Canada, 1966

suppliers of skill to Grande Prairie and the strength with which it is related to Edmonton and Calgary.

It seems, then, that the size of the place of destination has some relation to the size of the place of origin, a large proportion of the migrants having come from smaller places.

Another identifiable characteristic of the migration stream is the magnitude of the rural to urban flow. For Census purposes, places of less than 1,000 are considered rural, and in these terms, 40.3 per cent of the migration could be termed rural to urban. In the case of Grande Prairie, the corresponding figure is 36.1 per cent. For Spirit River and Beaverlodge the proportion is much higher (77.1 per cent and 45.5 per cent respectively). If the description of rural to urban migration is limited to those previously engaged in agriculture, the percentage becomes 21.8, of whom only 3.3 per cent remained in agriculture after moving.

TABLE 4.1

POPULATION OF ORIGIN BY DISTANCE MOVED

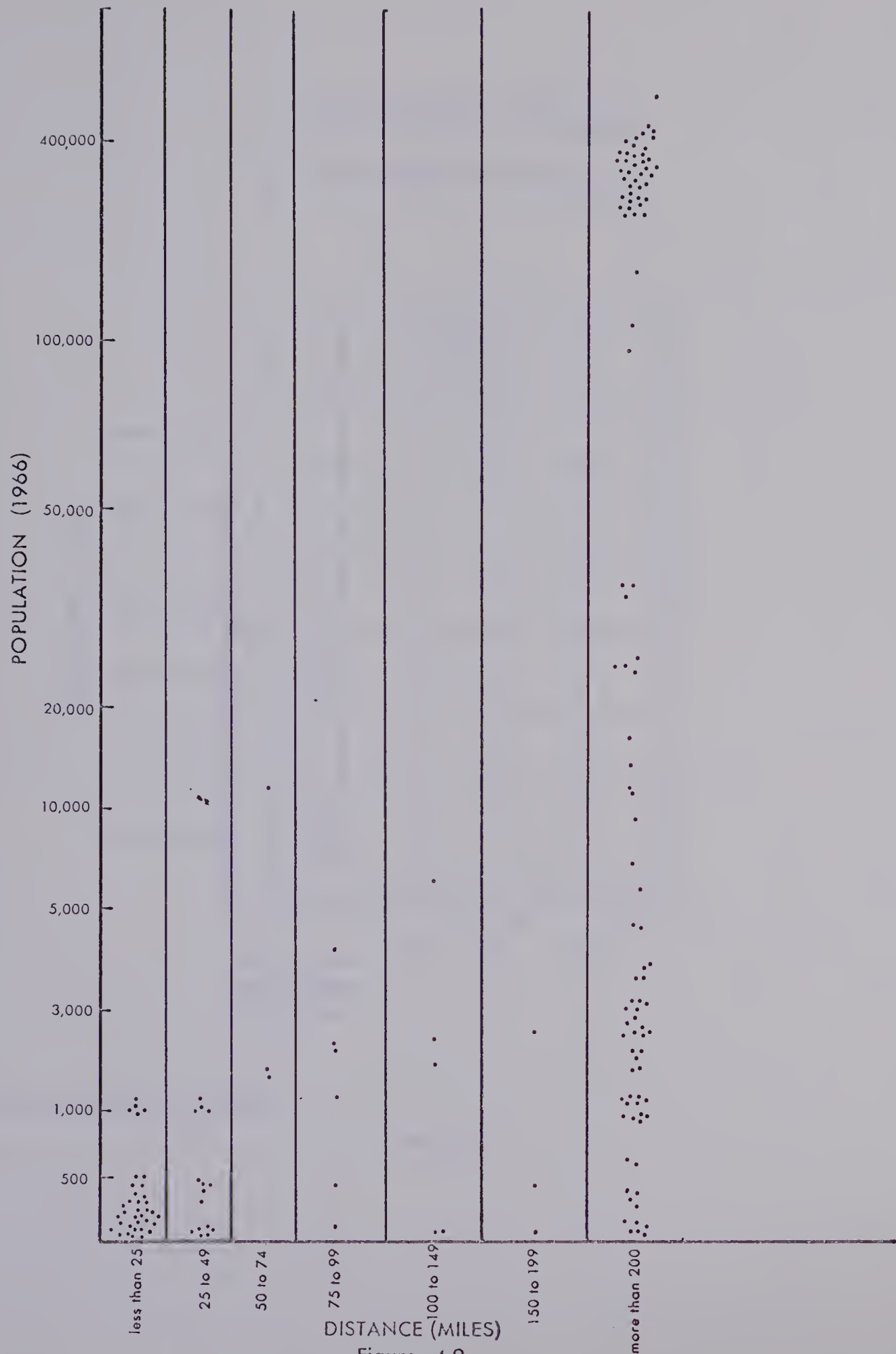
Distance (Miles)	Population (1966)						
	Less than 500	500- 999	1,000- 2,999	3,000- 4,999	5,000- 24,999	25,000- 100,000	More than 100,000
Less than 25	24	1	5	0	-	-	-
25-49	15	6	4	-	2	-	-
50-99	2	-	5	2	3	-	-
100-200	4	-	3	-	1	-	-
More than 200	11	6	14	10	9	9	36

In the attempt to construct "journey types," the population of the places of origin were cross-tabulated with the distances of the places of origin from destinations. (See Figure 4.9 and Table 4.1.) The resulting distribution was significant at the .001 level. For the migrant group as a whole, the cells having the highest number of occurrences were, firstly, the cell with a population of more than 100,000 and distance more than 200 miles (22.4 per cent), and, secondly, the cell with less than 500 population and from less than 25 miles (14.5 per cent). The third most frequently occupied cell contained those making a journey of 25 to 50 miles from places less than 500 people (9.1 per cent). Two journey types might therefore be identified from those three cells--the lengthy journey from a large centre, and the journey from a small centre, not more than one hour distant from the place of destination.

In summary, it seems that most people move from smaller to larger centres. The volume of in-migration decreases with distance until 200 miles, when it sharply increases. The distribution of the in-migrants according to population of place of origin suggests that migrants come predominantly from the smallest and the largest places, the size of origin showing some relation to the distance moved. A greater proportion of the migrants to Spirit River and Beaverlodge come from small places, whereas a large proportion of those to Grande Prairie come from places of more than 100,000 population.

Application of a standard gravity model to the data obtained a mean value for the power of d (distance) of 3.6. This is substantially

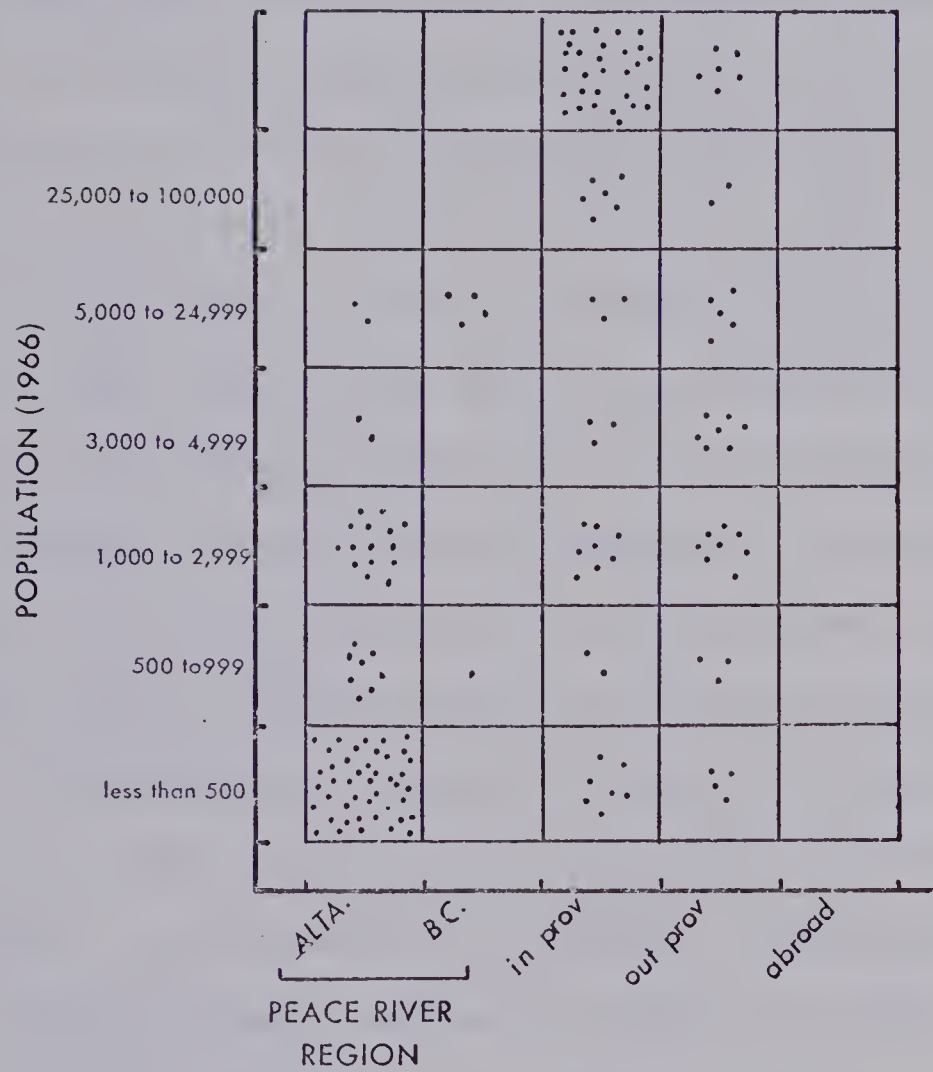
DISTANCE MOVED BY POPULATION OF ORIGIN



Sources: D.B.S. Census of Canada, 1966
interview data

Figure 4.9

POPULATION OF ORIGIN BY LOCATION OF ORIGIN



Source: D.B.S. Census of Canada, 1966

Figure 4.10

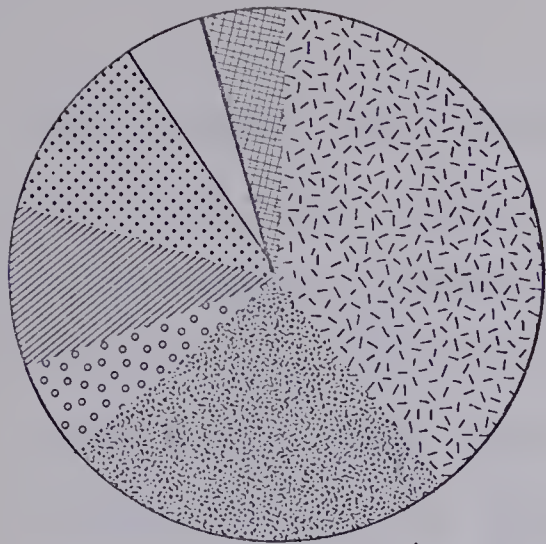
higher than might have been expected (Haggett, 1965, pp. 35-40) but is the result of small numbers of migrants coming from many places within a large migration field.

The Motives

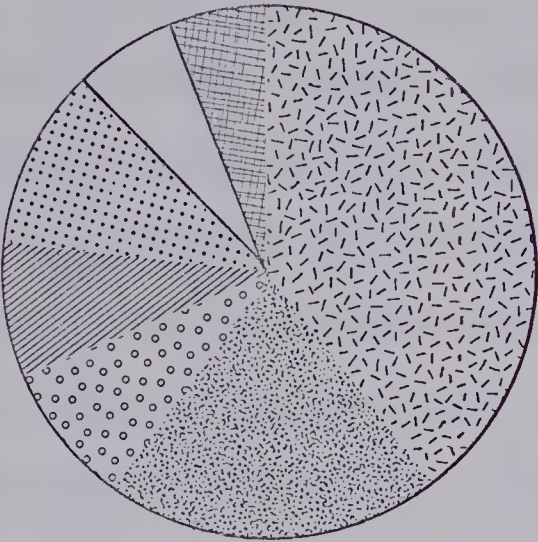
The type of journey made, while suggesting some generalizations about the migrations, and certain relationships with the character of the destination, cannot be interpreted or explained without reference to the second main set of factors in a move--the motives for moving and the reasons for choosing a specific destination. These are not independent of, but rather causal to the type of journey made, and it is proposed that some regularities between the two can be distinguished. Neither, it is realized, are the motives independent of the nature of the migrants. This aspect, however, will be considered in the following chapter, where the various parts of the model are integrated.

Interviewees were asked, in an open-ended question, their primary reason for moving. Answers were subsequently grouped into seven different types: job opportunity, job transfer, services and facilities, family or friends here, retirement, personal, or other reasons. Sixty per cent of the respondents moved for reasons associated with a job (39.4 per cent for job opportunity). (See Figure 4.11.) Those who moved because they retired comprised 10.9 per cent of the respondents, and 8.6 per cent moved for better services or facilities. Family or friends were specified by 8.0 per cent, and the remainder (12.6 per cent) moved for personal or other reasons. That the economic motive is dominant is

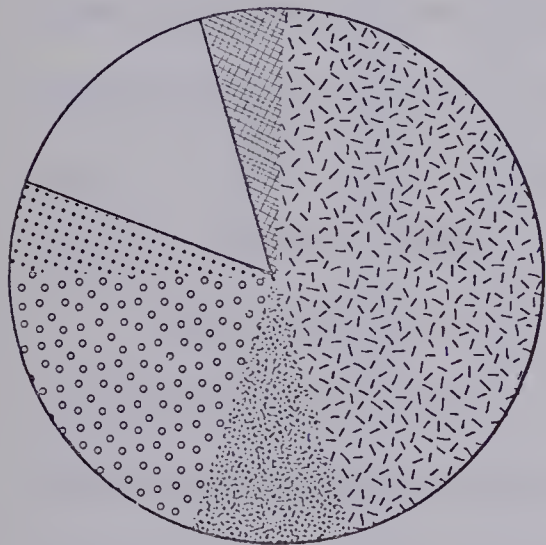
REASONS FOR MOVING



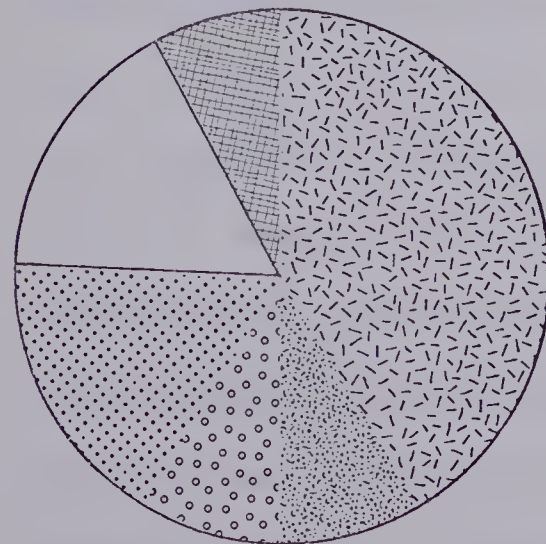
GRANDE PRAIRIE



OVERALL



SPIRIT RIVER



BEAVERLODGE

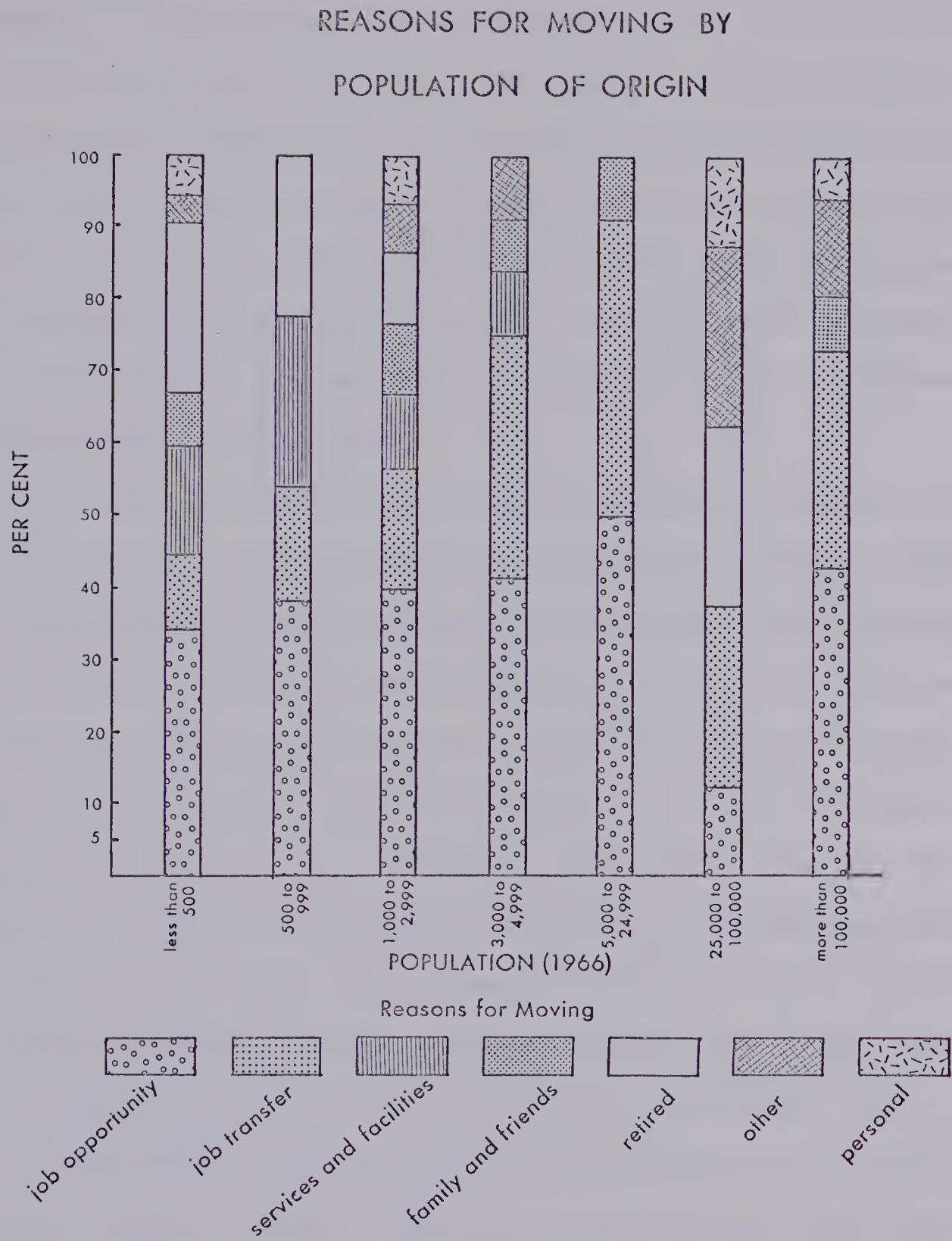
Reasons for moving

- job opportunity
- job transfer
- services and facilities
- family and friends
- retired
- other
- personal

Figure 4.11

clear; however, the fairly even distribution of migrants among the other five reasons suggests that none can be neglected. Differences in the reasons why migrants moved to each of the three towns can be seen in Figure 4.11. Grande Prairie shows a slightly greater proportion moving for job reasons and because of retirement than does Beaverlodge or Spirit River or the total. In Spirit River, personal reasons and services and facilities assumed greater importance than retirement as reasons for moving. Personal reasons and retirement were more often cited than services and facilities by migrants to Beaverlodge, possibly attributable to the fact that Beaverlodge is located only 27 miles from Grande Prairie, where a greater variety and higher level of services is available to those seeking these amenities.

The character of the place of origin is thought to have some role in creating the reasons for moving. Cross-tabulation of the reasons for moving with the population of the place of origin suggests that the larger the place, the greater the proportion of migrants who came for job reasons. In general, there was a greater variety and more uniform spread among reasons given for moving by people from the smaller places. (Figure 4.12.) None who moved because they retired came from places of 3,000 population or more, indicating that these migrants tended to retire to larger places. Almost three quarters of those who moved for better services and facilities were from places no larger than 1,000. The relatively large percentage of people moving for job reasons from places of more than 100,000 population suggests that the area is a "stepping stone" or is perceived as a developing area where opportunity



Sources: D.B.S. Census of Canada, 1966
interview data

Figure 4.12

is abundant. Thirty-six per cent of the migrants are accounted for by four cells in the cross-tabulation. That having the largest number of occurrences is the job-opportunity-population-less-than-500 cell. The second, third, and fourth cells are: the job-opportunity-greater-than-100,000-population cell, the retired-less-than-500-population cell, and the job-opportunity-1,000-to-3,000 group. The trend toward moving to larger places is most pronounced for those moving because of retirement and for services and facilities.

That the effectiveness of distance as a barrier to migration is reduced with some motives for moving is suggested by the data. (Figure 4.13.) The majority of people moving for job reasons came from more than 200 miles away. In general, the relative importance of job as the reason for moving increased as distance moved. One fifth of those who moved because of a job transfer came from Edmonton. The dominant distance-reason cells, that is, the most frequently occurring combinations of journey and reason, were the greater-than-200-mile-job-opportunity-and-job-transfer cells. Those moving because of family and for personal and other reasons were also usually from more than 200 miles. Those moving for facilities and retiring were mainly from short distances. The greater the distance, the more final is the break in social ties associated with moving, an aspect of migration more important to the old than to the young. Only 10.0 per cent of those retiring travelled more than 200 miles, compared to the overall percentage of 57.7 from this distance. Seventy-nine and eight-tenths per cent of the retired moved less than 50 miles.

REASONS FOR MOVING BY DISTANCE MOVED

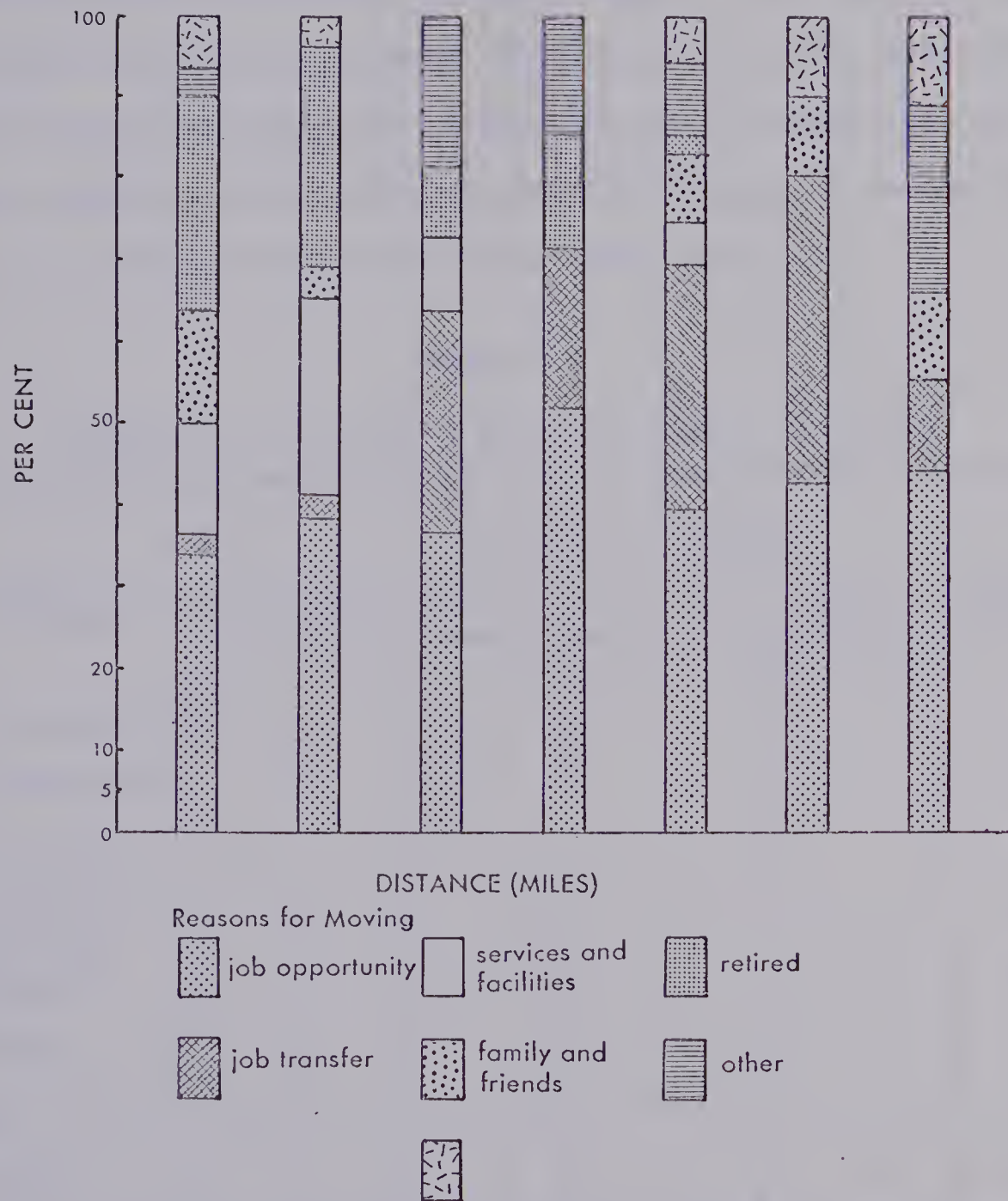


Figure 4.13

When location of the place of origin is considered with the reasons for moving, the most popular pairs are those from within the Peace moving for job opportunity, and those from within the Province, excluding the Peace moving for the same reasons. Along with job transfers from in Alberta and retirement from the Peace, they account for 47.7 per cent of the migration. Sixty-nine and five-tenths per cent of these coming for job opportunity were from Alberta, as were 61.1 per cent of those who were transferred. (See Table 4.2.)

TABLE 4.2

FREQUENCY OF LOCATION OF ORIGIN BY REASON FOR MOVING

Reason for Moving	Location of Origin				
	The Peace in Alberta	Alberta Except The Peace	The Peace in British Columbia	Outside Alberta and The Peace	Outside Canada
Job Opportunity	25	23	3	13	5
Job Transfer	4	18	1	13	0
Services and Facilities	11	2	0	2	0
Family and Friends	5	4	0	5	0
Retired	17	2	0	0	0
Other	3	5	0	2	2
Personal	3	5	0	2	0

Source: Interview data

For each of the three towns, the effect of distance on reasons for moving differs little from that for the overall study area.

Several general statements could be made, then, with respect to motives for moving and characteristics of the move. Most people move for economic reasons, and for those who come from both larger places and more distant places, the relative importance of this factor increases. Those who move for services and facilities and because of retirement mostly move only short distances, and from smaller centres. The most important groups of migrants, with respect to journey types and reasons for moving, are those from short distance moving for jobs, those from further away moving for jobs, and those retiring from short distances. Those moving for family reasons show no dominant characteristics of size of origin or of distance moved.

Choice of Destination

The character of the migration stream with reference to motives for moving having been considered, the factor relating the two, the reason for choice of destination, should clarify the link between them.

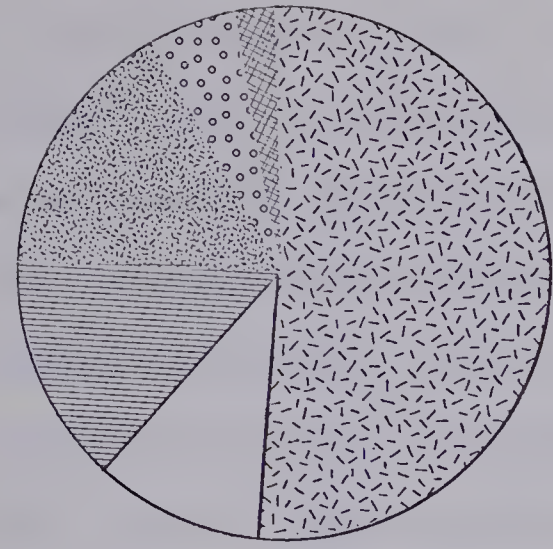
Again, an open-ended question was put to the interviewees regarding this aspect of their move. Six general categories of answers could be distinguished: job, family and friends, services and facilities, closest place, curiosity, and a category which will be called the amenity factor. It includes the people who chose the destination for its appeal to them because of some attribute that made it attractive. Sample answers were "liked it," "here before," or "larger."

Of the entire migrant sample, 52.9 per cent specified job as the major reason for their choice of destination. This is about 7 per cent less than those who said their move was for reasons associated with a job. Fourteen and five-tenths per cent of the migrants chose their destination for its attributes other than facilities. Those choosing it because of family or friends were 12.2 per cent of the migrants, compared with 8.0 per cent who moved for this reason. Eleven per cent said their choice was made because it was the closest town, and 6.4 per cent went there because of the facilities and services available. Those who moved to "see the area" or from "curiosity" comprised 2.9 per cent of the sample.

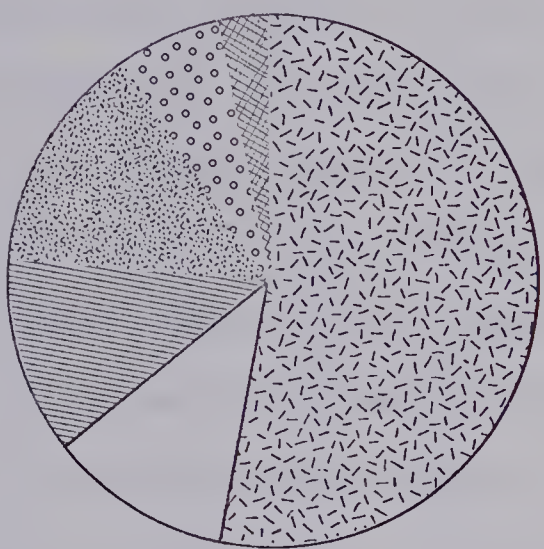
The variation in reasons for choice among the three towns is shown in Figure 4.14. Even though most who moved to Grande Prairie did so for reasons associated with their job, a slightly lower proportion of people chose Grande Prairie than Spirit River or Beaverlodge for this reason. A greater proportion, on the other hand, chose one of the two smaller places because it was closest. Migrants to Spirit River and Beaverlodge regarded the amenity factor and family reasons as less important for choice of destination than migrants to Grande Prairie.

The presence of relatives in the place of destination at present and at the time of the move was queried in an attempt to determine this as a possible role in attracting migrants. For the total sample, about one quarter of the heads of sampled units and one fifth of their spouses reported relatives in town at the time of interview. Those who had relatives in town at the time of their move numbered 26.7 per cent of

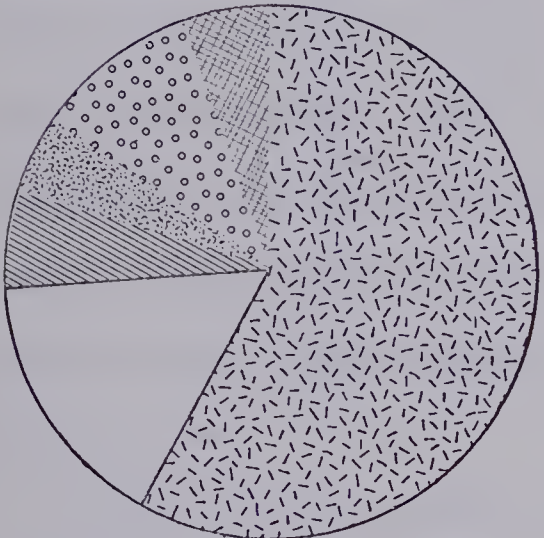
REASONS FOR CHOICE
OF DESTINATION



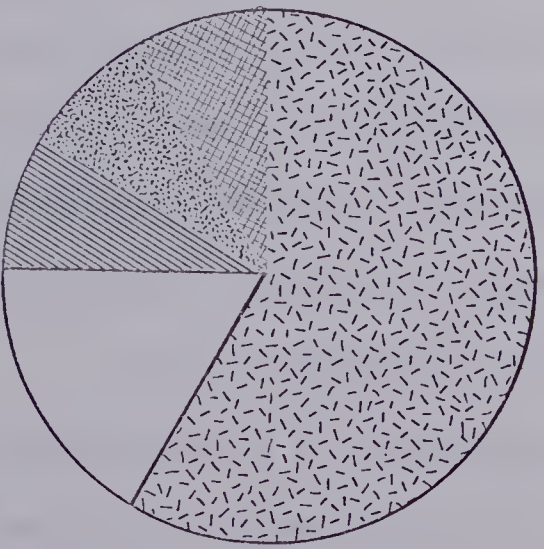
GRANDE PRAIRIE



OVERALL



SPIRIT RIVER



BEAVERLODGE

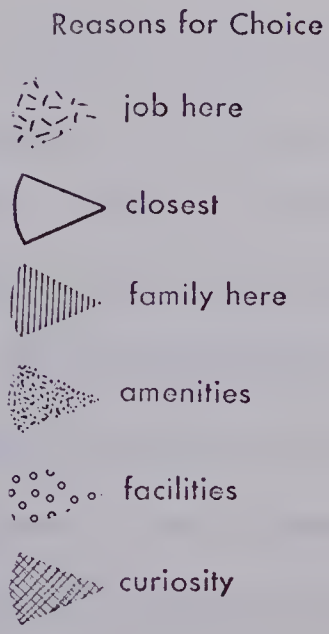


Figure 4.14

the heads of units and 26.4 per cent of their spouses. Figures for both points in time are considerably higher than the number giving this either as the reason for moving or for choice of destination. It is suggested that the presence of relatives is a factor contributing to the potential migrant's knowledge of place of destination, and therefore it may act as a positive factor in this regard, even where it is not given as the major reason for choice of destination. It is interesting that there appears to be a greater propensity to choose the destination because of the presence of relatives if it is the wife's relatives rather than the husband's relatives who reside there. It is possible, however, that since most interviews were with wives, family reasons for choice of destination are biased in favor of the wife's rather than the husband's family. Those choosing their destination because it was the closest place to where they previously lived are also more likely to have relatives in town.

The relation between the reasons for choice of destination and journey types is similar to that between reasons for moving and journey types. The relative importance of job as the reason for choice of destination increases generally with distance moved (see Figure 4.15). Those coming for reasons of curiosity came from the greatest variety of distances. The most common reason for choice of destination among those coming from less than 25 miles away was because it was closest.

In each category of reason for choice of destination except that of amenities of the destination, the majority of migrants moved from smaller to larger places.

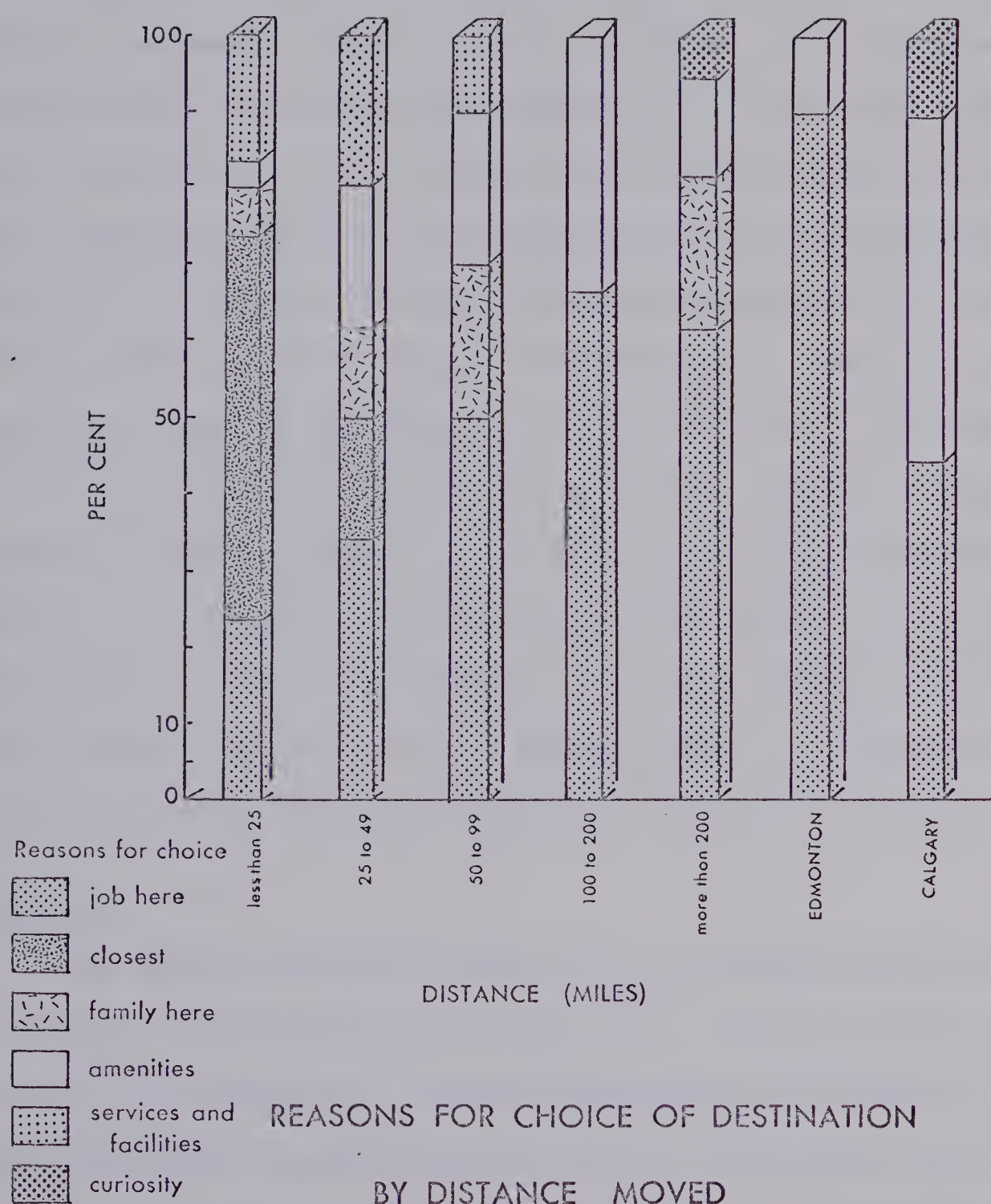


Figure 4.15

When the reasons for moving are cross-tabulated with the reasons for choice of destination, three cells account for 52.0 per cent of the migrants' responses to these questions. They are: (1) the job opportunity-job cell, (2) the job transfer-job cell, and (3) the job opportunity-amenity cell. Those for whom a job transfer brought about the move, effectively had no option of destination and therefore always "chose" for job reasons. The majority of those moving for job opportunity also made their choice on the basis of job reasons. However, for a significant number in this group, the choice was based on the appeal that the town held for them (the amenity factor). Of those moving because of retirement, more than one third chose their destination because it was closest. The group for whom job reasons were relatively least important among the reasons for choice were those who moved for family reasons. On the whole, job figures slightly more importantly as a reason for moving than as a criterion for choice of destination.

Conclusion

The dominant reason for moving, then, is economic, and choice of destination is made primarily for this reason. People generally moved farther for job opportunity than for other reasons, and those who moved from larger to smaller centres most often did so for this reason. Those retiring moved shorter distances and from smaller to larger centres. The relative importance of job as a reason for moving is less in the two small towns than in Grande Prairie.

CHAPTER V

THE MIGRANTS AND THEIR MOVE

In this chapter, the relations between the migrants and their moves, as well as their reasons for moving and choice of destination, will be discussed in an effort to complete the linkages in the proposed schema. The combined impact of these factors on the destination and the resulting feedback into the system can then be clarified.

Motives and Migrant Characteristics

The reasons for moving, in addition to reflecting the character of the place of origin, are important for their variation with certain characteristics of the migrants themselves. They are, indeed, an "input" of migrant types. The impact of any one condition, however, will vary for each migrant as his particular characteristics and situation. Conditions at the place of destination are believed to be stronger than those at the origin in the formation of motives for moving, although in essence it is the relative advantage of the destination over the origin which makes the migration purposeful.

A general view of the variation in reasons for moving with respect to characteristics of the migrants will serve to illustrate the role of this factor in the creation of migrant types and its position in the model.

When the present occupation of the head of the migrant unit is viewed in conjunction with his reason for moving, certain trends can be

identified, as shown in Figure 5.1. Sixty and seven-tenths per cent of the professional and technically employed moved for job opportunity, and it is this group along with the labourers for whom job opportunity was relatively most important as the reason for the move. About one quarter of those moving for job opportunity were professional or technical workers. Job opportunity and job transfers combined were the motives for migration of three quarters of those now in professional and technical occupations.

Job transfers were relatively most important to the managers, officials and proprietors. However, for this group job opportunity was equally important in motivating their move. Together, they account for 84.2 per cent of the migrants in that occupational class. Job transfers were secondarily most important to craftsmen and foremen (38.7 per cent). These two occupational groups (managers, etc., and craftsmen, etc.) find the two reasons associated with jobs relatively more important as reasons for moving than do other occupational groups. The largest single proportion of migrations due to job transfers (33.3 per cent) were for those in the craftsmen and foremen group, although by occupational group this reason for migrating accounted for only 20.6 per cent.

Job transfers are comparatively unimportant to those in operative and kindred occupations, only 4.0 per cent of this group having moved for this reason. Almost one half of these people moved for job opportunity, and one fifth moved for family reasons. This group made the highest contribution to those moving for reasons of family--35.7 per cent.

REASONS FOR MOVING BY OCCUPATION

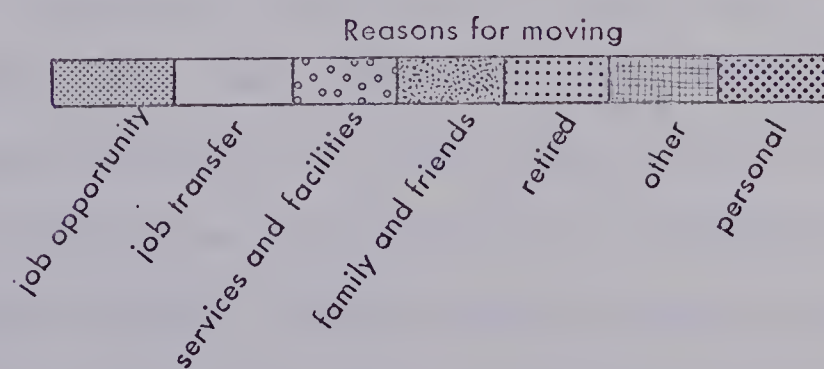
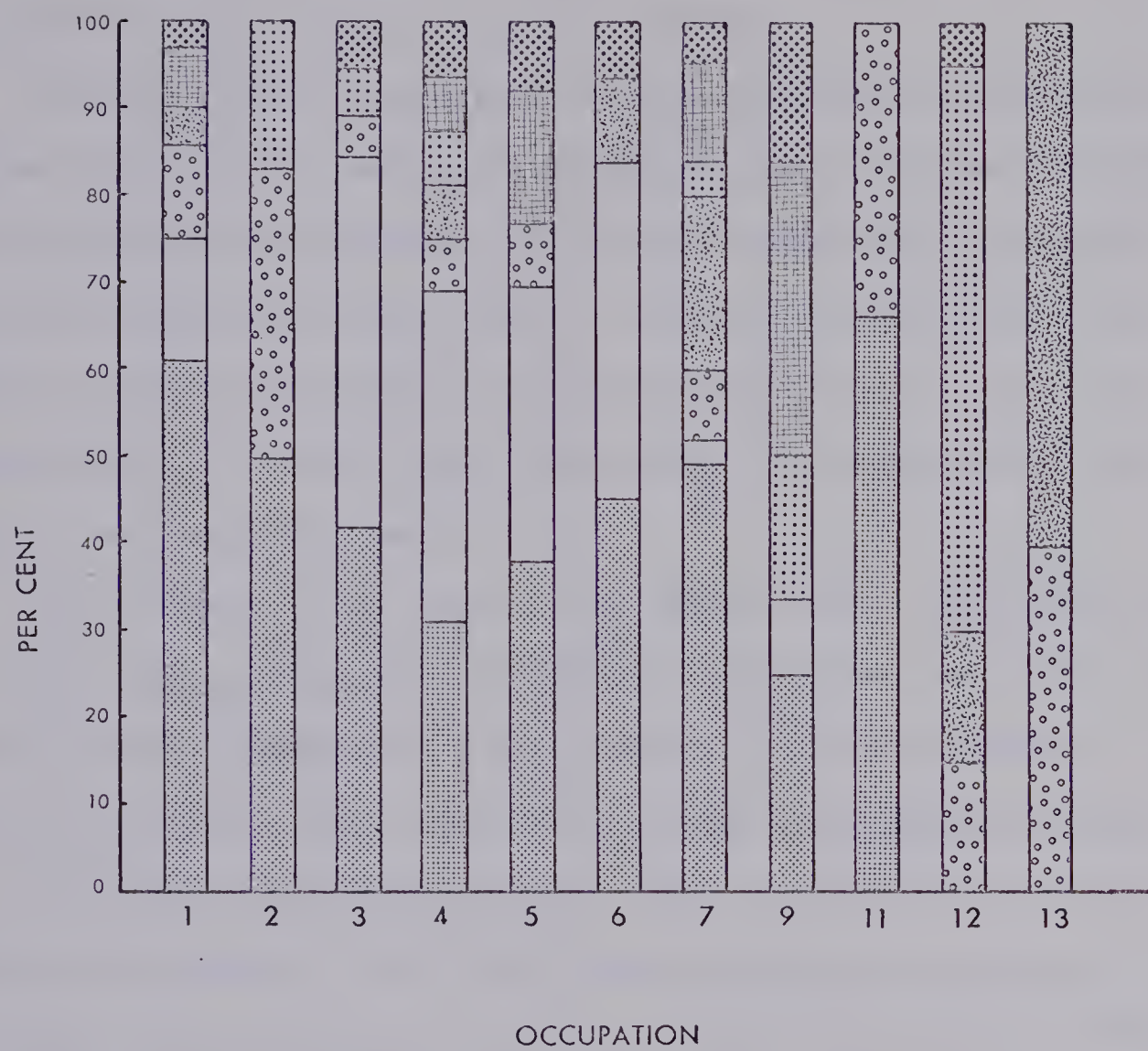


Figure 5.1

Those now retired moved either for facilities, because of family, or for the most part simply because they retired.

Clerical, sales, and service workers exhibited the least concentrations of reasons for moving. Although jobs were still most important for those in sales and clerical occupations, a substantial proportion moved for a variety of other reasons. Jobs were less important, relatively, as reasons for moving for service workers than for any other employed class. For them, other and personal reasons were most significant in motivating the move.

The economic motive, then, is the dominant one in migration for all occupational groups, with the exception of the service workers, the retired, and the unemployed. The importance of the other reasons varies as the occupational group, family being of significance, especially to operatives and kindred workers. That the relative importance of the job is greater for the high status and skilled occupations is something of an oversimplification of the data, but the trend is evident.

The decreasing relative importance of job opportunities and transfers as reasons for moving is noticeable with the increase in age of the migrants (see Figure 5.2). Again, jobs are usually the most important reason, but a smaller proportion of older people move for this reason. For them, family and services and facilities are of greater importance than for the younger migrant. The distinction between job opportunity and job transfer-motivated migrations is important for the group aged 35 to 40 years. Twice as many in this age category move for transfers as for opportunity, the approximate reverse of this relationship in other

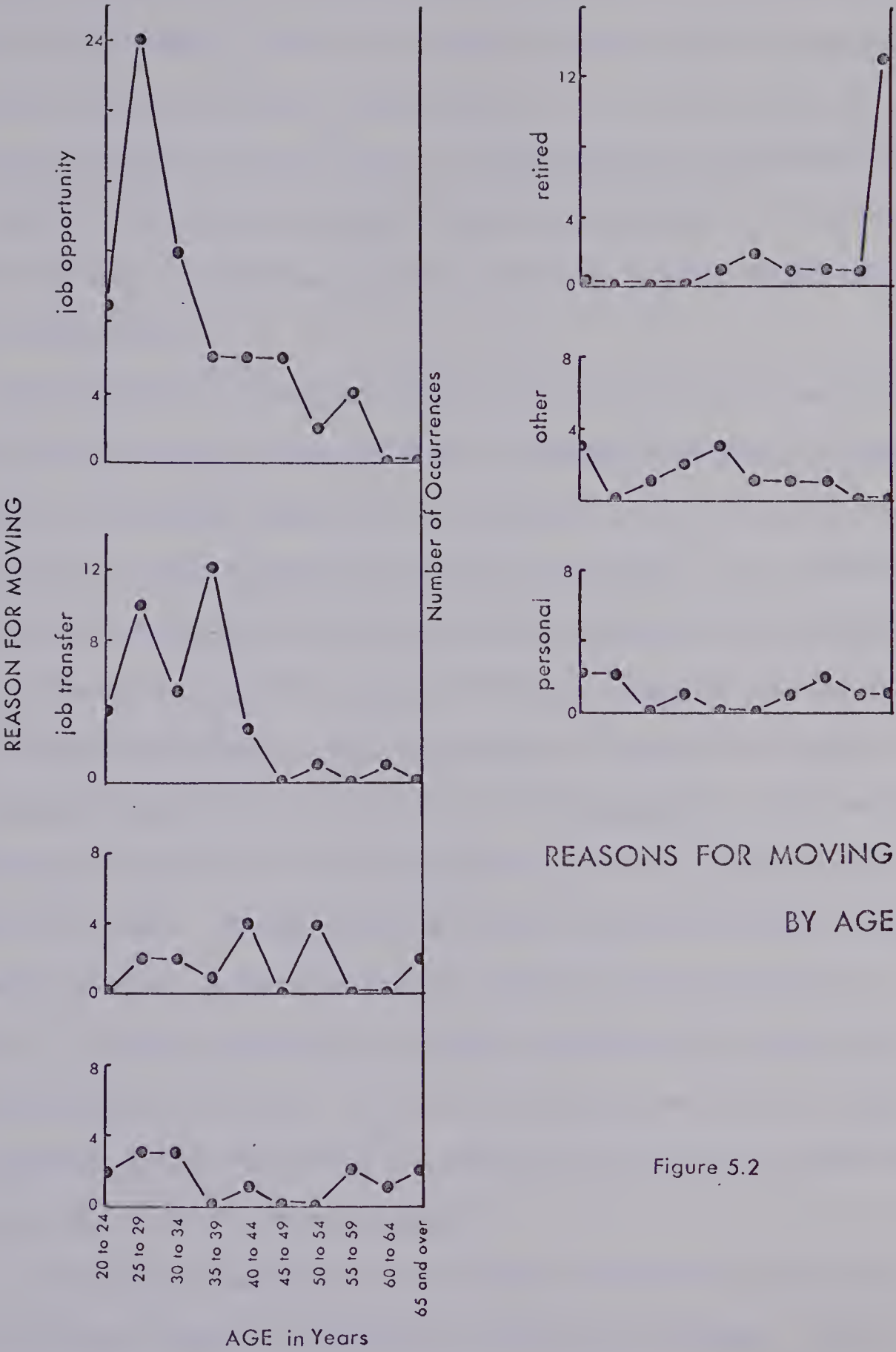


Figure 5.2

age-groups. This age, then, may signify the onset of less inclination to move for opportunity; that is, a decline in the search for opportunity, as distinct from the taking of opportunity. It is interesting that this is the age category into which many of the managerial occupational group fall, most of whom also move because they are transferred. It can be assumed that many are the same people--one of the migrant types identified in Chapter III.

The dominant frequency of occurrence of the 25 to 29 year group who move for job reasons reflects both the dominance of this age-group among the total migrant group and the dominance of this reason for moving; 73.0 per cent of this age-group moved for job reasons. It is from this group that the young professional and young craftsmen-foremen migrant types are drawn, most of the migrants in these occupations moving for jobs.

Those 60 and older moved predominantly because of retirement or for facilities and family reasons, as would be expected. They form the fourth migrant type and are distinguishable again as a group by their reasons for moving. The age-groups for whom personal and other reasons were most important in the move form no distinct concentrations or patterns. The more even spread of reasons are found for those in the middle age-groups (40 to 59). Services and facilities are the single most important reason for moving for those 50 to 54, and the second major reason for the 40 to 44 year age-group.

It has been suggested that the reasons for which one moves may assume different relative importance as family size changes. Cross-tabulation of the number of children at home with reasons for moving,

significant at .01 level, suggests some relationships. (See Figure 5.3.) For those migrant units with no children, job reasons were less important relatively than for migrant units with children. Only 46.4 per cent moved because of jobs, whereas for the overall sample, the percentage was 60.0. Those moving because of retirement were of importance in this cross-tabulation, due mainly to their being older and their families already having left home. The childless migrant units display the most even distribution among all reasons for moving. They seem, then, to be less restricted as to movement, and the economic motive plays a less important role in their migration.

Of units having small families (one or two children), 61.0 per cent move for job reasons. For this group, family reasons are more important than for any other group; however, there is a fairly even spread among all reasons.

Jobs are of increasing importance to those having three or four children. Seventy-three and nine-tenths per cent moved in response to job opportunity or transfer. The high proportion of transfers among this group (32.6 per cent) or 41.7 per cent of all the transfers, may indicate less willingness on the part of the migrant with several children to move, if there are risks of success or gain. It also may indicate the older ages of most of the transferees (35 to 39), relative to other groups, and the greater likelihood that they have completed their families. Migration because of the presence of family at the destination is of low importance to these migrants.

Migrant units having five or more children moved for job reasons

REASONS FOR MOVING BY CHILDREN AT HOME

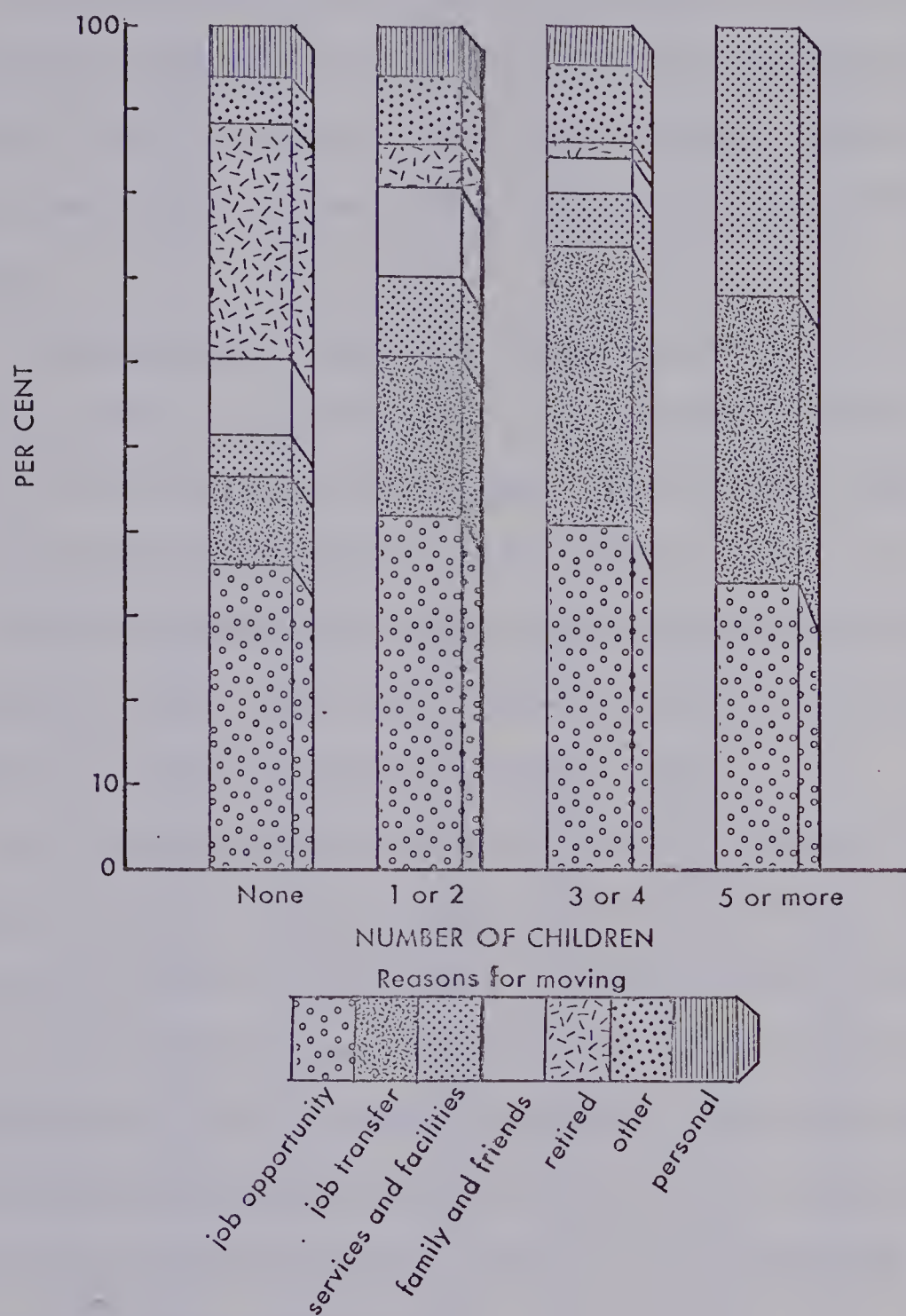


Figure 5.3

(66.7 per cent) or for services and facilities, illustrating an even smaller propensity to take risks.

In general, the retired had few children at home, while those moving for job opportunities and because of job transfers had larger families at home than did the total migrant sample. Those moving for services had larger families, while the other groups had relatively large families.

It also appears, then, that increasing family size and an increase in the proportion of migrants moving for jobs are concurrent. Larger families also often move for services. The childless migrants offer more reasons for moving than do other groups.

Certain relationships between the level of education and reasons for moving are shown to be significant at the level of .001 in a cross-tabulation of these two variables (Figure 5.4a).

For those migrants who have finished high school, job reasons are of greater relative importance than for those who did not finish. Of those moving because of employment, 73.3 per cent have finished high school, whereas of those not finishing high school, only 49.5 per cent moved because of jobs. A second significant reason for moving, among those having finished high school, are the "other" reasons, accounting for 10.7 per cent of this group. Services are unimportant, as are retirement and personal reasons.

Family reasons tend to be of greater importance to those migrants not completing high school. Those moving for retirement are also significant among this group.

COMPLETION OF HIGH SCHOOL
BY REASON FOR MOVING

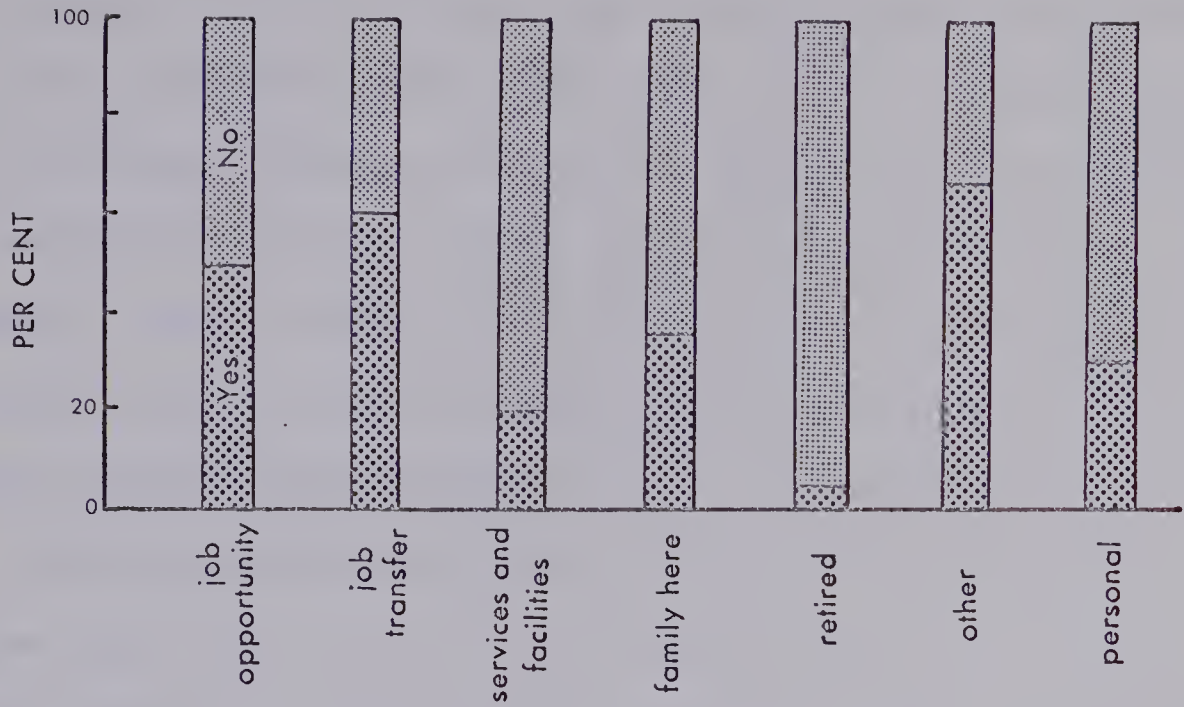


Figure 5.4a

TYPE OF TRAINING BY REASON FOR MOVING

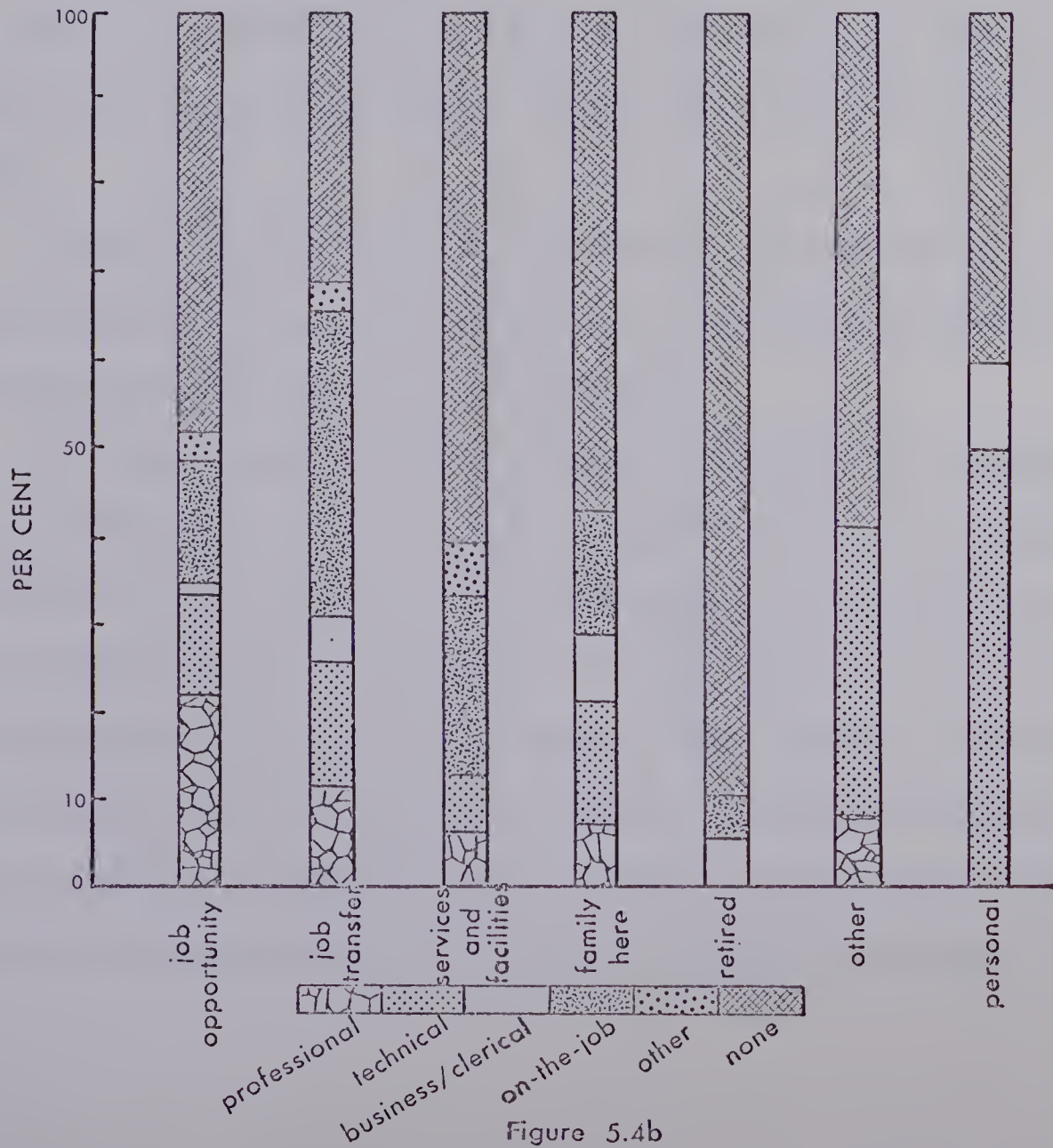


Figure 5.4b

About one half of those moving for job opportunity and 60.0 per cent of the transferred had finished high school. The proportions for the total sample group are 43.1 per cent and 56.9 per cent respectively. This suggests the greater tendency of those moving for jobs to be better educated. Those in search of facilities and services and moving because of family tend to be less well-educated than those moving for other reasons, and also less well-educated than the migrant group as a whole.

Of those moving because they retired, 94.7 per cent had not finished high school. Most of these people are old, and would have attended school at a time when the proportion of people who completed the higher grades was low.

Twice as many of those moving for other reasons had finished high school as had not, and the reverse is true for those moving for personal reasons.

A general trend, then, is that those not completing high school move less often for job reasons than those completing high school, and more often for family reasons and facilities.

The table cross-tabulating reasons for moving with training other than, or additional to, high school is significant at the .01 level. Fifty and six-tenths per cent of the in-migrants had no auxiliary training (see Figure 5.4b). For these people, jobs were the most frequently cited reason for moving. However, they are less important, relatively, for this group than for those with training. A substantial proportion of the untrained moved because of retirement (19.3 per cent), and 10.2 per cent moved for services and facilities. Those migrants with training

were classified according to type of training: professional, technical, clerical-business, on-the-job, and other.

For those with professional training, jobs were more important motives for moving than for the other groups. Eighty-six and four-tenths per cent of professionally trained people stated this as their reason. The other groups for whom jobs were important were those with on-the-job training, and those with miscellaneous training. The latter group moved solely for jobs, or for services and facilities. Services and facilities were cited as the reason by 11.1 per cent of those with on-the-job training. For the technically trained migrants, jobs were the reason for 52.0 per cent of their moves, while 36.0 per cent of the moves were for personal and other reasons. Jobs were least important as the motives for moving for those having business or clerical training, and for this group the distribution of reasons for moving was most uniform.

In conclusion, differences in reasons for moving occur both between the trained and untrained migrants, and among the various types of training possessed by the migrants.

Reasons for moving and the five migrant types, identified previously, were cross-tabulated, the resulting distribution being significant at the 1 per cent level. Of the retired-over 60 type of migrant, two thirds moved because they retired, and 27.8 per cent for service and facilities or family reasons. The 25 to 29 year-old professionals migrated for job reasons in nine of eleven cases, eight of these being for job opportunity. Seventy-one and four-tenths per cent of the craftsmen-foremen group moved for jobs. For those in operative

occupations, jobs were less important as reasons for the move than for the other occupational groups and family reasons were of greater relative importance. The most distinctive single reason for the managers 35 to 40 years old was job transfer, and together with job opportunity it is the reason for 88.8 per cent of the moves made by this group.

Choice of Destination

Reasons for moving contribute to describing and defining migrant types, but they do not define journey type. The factor linking the two is the reason for choice of a particular destination--it determines the nature of the journey to be made.

Any one of a number of places can satisfy a given motive for a migration. The choice of which is conditioned by certain characteristics of the migrant in combination with his reasons for moving. Following the proposed schema, reasons for moving were cross-classified with the reason for choice of destination given by the sample migrants. The table is significant at the .0001 level.

Sixty and three-tenths per cent of those moving for job opportunity or because there was a job in the place of destination chose their place of destination for the same reason. Those moving because of job transfers, by definition chose their destinations for job reasons. For these people, then, the singular factor in their move was an economic one. It is interesting that job reasons figure more importantly as a reason for moving than as the criterion for choice of destination. A substantial proportion of those who moved for job opportunity selected their

destination for other reasons. Seventeen and six-tenths per cent chose it because of its amenities--its appeal to them. Another 11.8 per cent made it their choice because family were there.

Of those moving for services and facilities, only one third chose it on this basis, and 40.0 per cent chose it because there was a job there. An additional 13.3 per cent picked their destination because it was the closest place which satisfied their reason for moving.

Only 61.5 per cent of those moving for family reasons chose their destination for this reason. The remainder were evenly distributed among the five other reasons.

Those whose motives for moving were personal displayed the most even distribution of reasons for selecting their place of destination. Although job availability was the dominant reason (30.0 per cent), each of the remaining factors was significantly represented. The criteria for choice of destination were also fairly broad for the group who moved because they retired. The most frequently given reason was the closeness of the destination (36.8 per cent of the respondents); however, facilities, and amenities of the town each accounted for 21.1 per cent of the migrants in this category. As would be expected, jobs were of little relevance to retiring people, and no one chose his destination because of curiosity. A lower proportion than might have been supposed (10.5 per cent) based its selection on the presence of family. However, the fact that virtually all of those retiring came from within 50 miles, thereby remaining proximal to their families, may explain this. The effectiveness of distance as a barrier to retired people is illustrated

by the large proportion who made their choice on the criterion of the closest place.

Three cells in the table were much more frequently filled than the remaining 39. These were: the job opportunity-job here; the job transfer-job here; and the job opportunity-amenity cells. Together, they accounted for the replies of 52.0 per cent of the respondents. Their contribution to migrant types will be considered subsequently.

The observed associations between age of the head of the migrant unit and his reasons for choice of destination, shown by Figure 5.5 significant at .0001 level, are striking. Those basing their choice on the presence of a job are the younger migrants, and the relative weight of this factor as a reason decreases as age increases. The older migrants are those for whom the closest place is most important as a reason for selection of a particular centre. This factor is very unimportant for migrants less than 40 years old. The presence of family also tends to assume greater relative importance among migrants over 40. However, it is cited by the 25 to 29 and 30 to 34 year-old migrants in 12.2 per cent and 13.0 per cent of their occurrences respectively. Although the amenity factor is, again, of generally less importance in choice of destination for younger migrants, it was cited by more than one quarter of the migrants 30 to 35 years, and by 14.3 per cent of the 20 to 24 year-old migrants. Also, most of those coming for amenities were over 40 years of age. Facilities were of most consequence for the over 65 year age-group, and they became significant as a criterion only for those over 40 years. The curiosity factor was

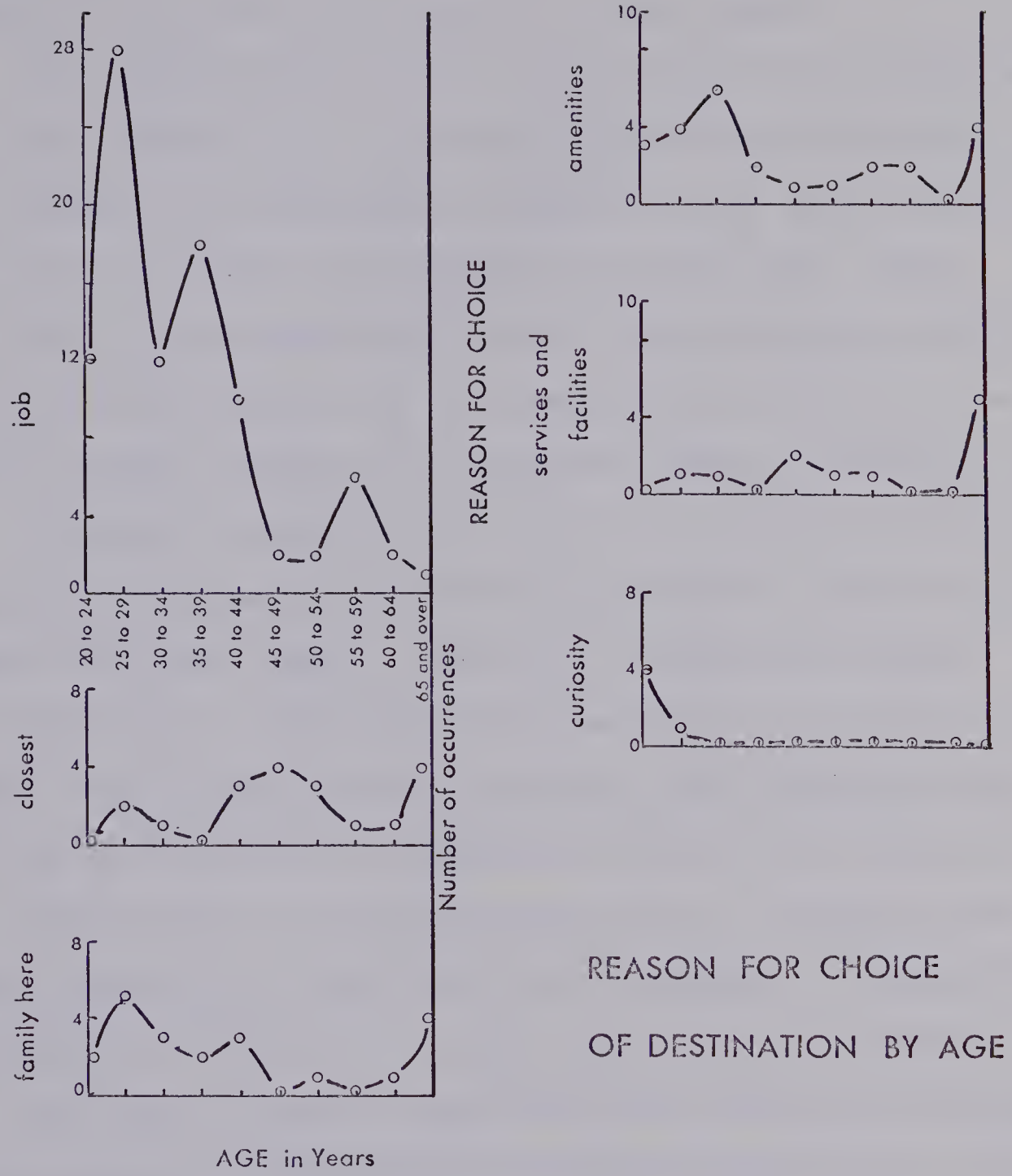


Figure 5.5

important only for the 20 to 24 year age-group, being mentioned by 19.0 per cent of this group as the criterion for their choice.

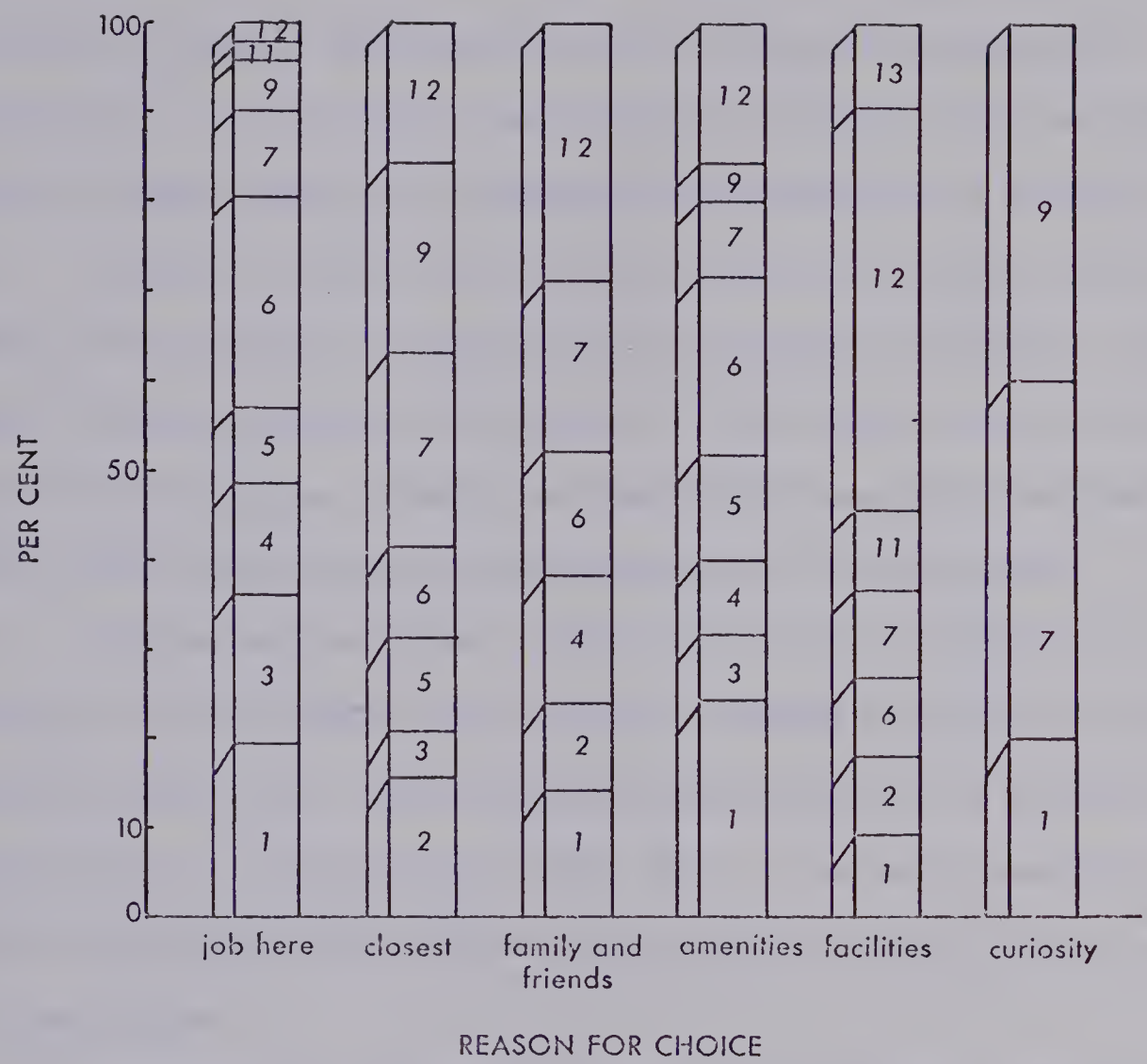
The large proportion of those in the 35 to 40 year age-group who chose their destination for job reasons (81.8 per cent) reflects the high incidence of the managerially occupied who moved because of job transfers. For migrants over 65 years, the closest place, family, facilities, and the amenity factor were of approximately equal distinction in the choice of a destination. In summary, age is reflected in the differing weights accorded to the reasons for choice of destination.

The present occupation of the head of the household, viewed in reference to the reasons for his choice of destination, enable us to discuss some general trends. (Figure 5.6.) Professional migrants chose their place of destination in 60.7 per cent of the cases for job reasons. For this group, however, amenities were an important factor. More than one fifth based the selection of centre on this criterion.

The job factor was most important to those in managerial occupations, the majority of them having been transferred. It accounted for the choice of 84.2 per cent of managers, proprietors, and officials.

For those in clerical occupations, family reasons and the amenity factor explained 18.8 per cent and 12.5 per cent of the choices, respectively. Job reasons were, again, important, accounting for the remaining migrants' decisions.

More than two thirds of those in craftsmen-foremen occupations picked their destination for reasons of job. Amenity factors were of second importance, and family was third.



Occupations Numbered 1-13

OCCUPATION BY REASON FOR
CHOICE OF DESTINATION

Figure 5.6

For operatives and kindred workers, job figured much less importantly in the choice of destination than might be expected, while the presence of family and proximity of destination were relatively important. All six reasons were cited by this group, and 40.0 per cent of those choosing their destination from curiosity belonged here.

Another 40.0 per cent of those basing their choice on curiosity were service workers, of whom this group comprised one sixth. Jobs were less important, whereas the proximity of the centre accounted for one third of the choices. Family and facilities were never mentioned by this group, and the amenity factor was small (8.3 per cent).

The retired exhibited a wide distribution of reasons for their choice. The most cited reason was the presence of family, and the second was for facilities. Jobs were never mentioned by those retiring from agriculture as the reason for their choice. One half based their decision on proximity, one third on the presence of family, and one sixth on facilities.

The largest contributions made to the proximity factor were by the operative and service-worker groups, while it was never reported by professional-technical or clerical workers. Since operatives and service workers were not large in absolute numbers in terms of total migrants, this becomes more interesting. It appears that proximity is a relatively more important factor to lower status occupations; that is, that the more highly skilled will move farther, or that at least distance is not a deterrent to their movement. This will be examined in the section dealing with migrant types and their relation to journey types.

Job reasons are less important for those in lower status, lower skilled occupations. For them, a greater variety of reasons occurs. It might be suggested, then, that the migration is less an economic venture and more often motivated or conditioned by personal factors for the lower socio-economic group. The nature of their move is therefore less predictable and less regular. It could also be inferred that the more highly skilled and higher status occupations have greater flexibility in their migration opportunities. For them, amenity factors were comparatively significant. Their reasons for moving, however, are more regular, show more definite patterns, and are thus more predictable. Since there are also more of them, a sizable portion of the total migration can be explained by analysis of their behavior patterns. The other highly predictable group, in terms of migration behavior, is the retired.

Destination and Migrant Type

The reasons for choice of destination, cross-tabulated with the five previously identified migrant types, are significant at the .05 level of accuracy. The retired group of 60 years and older exhibit a fair variety of reasons for their decision as to destination, the most frequently mentioned being for facilities. It, however, accounts for just 27.8 per cent of these migrants. There is thus no typical or overriding reason for their decisions.

The professional-technical group, 25 to 29 years of age, and the managerial migrant type expressed job reasons as their criterion for selection in 70.0 and 100.0 per cent of the cases respectively. Jobs

were cited as the reason for choice of destination by 50.0 per cent of each of the operatives 20 to 29 years and craftsmen 25 to 29 years migrant types, further substantiating the apparent trend of jobs being of greater relative importance to those in higher status occupations than to those in occupations of lower status or skill requirement. Again, the operative and craftsmen groups were more prone to choose their destination for the presence of family and the variety of other reasons. The widest assortment and least concentrated set of reasons were given by the operatives as a whole, lending credence to the notion that their migration is least predictable. Two of the fourteen members of this migrant type chose their centre of destination from curiosity. The less predictable patterns of migration of this group may indicate a particular type of person. His employment in the operative occupational class may reflect his personal nature, since the occupations in this group are generally those for which promotion is less dependent on continuous service. Economic advance, also, is more likely to be gained from a change in job than for most occupational types.

The reasons for which migrants chose their destinations do show regularities with respect to the age and occupations of migrants, and to their reasons for moving; the younger being more likely to base decisions on economic factors, and the older following other kinds of reasoning. The higher status occupational groups are also more intent on economic considerations than the lower; however, for the professional group the amenity factor is also relevant.

Journeys and Migrant Characteristics

The journeys occasioned by the choice of destination, in order to realize the expectations sought from the reasons for moving, may be described in relation to characteristics of the migrants, and to the migrant types.

A popular idea is that younger people will tend to move farther than older people. This notion is substantiated for the case of in-migrants to the three sample towns. Almost 80 per cent of those 65 and over travelled less than 50 miles to their destination, whereas about 70.0 per cent of those 20 to 24 years of age came from more than 200 miles. (See Figure 5.7.) Those over 40 are likely to travel a shorter distance than those under 40, although the age-group 55 to 60 departs from the trend in that 60.0 per cent of its members are from 200 or more miles away. The members of this age-group show no particular concentration of occupational characteristics, although two thirds of them chose their destination for job reasons. In general, however, migrants from less than 50 miles away tend to be older, and those from great distances tend to be younger.

That the more highly skilled, more highly educated generally move farther is also substantiated by the present study. Those in professional-technical and managerial occupational groups came from the greatest distances. Eighty-two and one-tenth per cent of the professional-technical group and 85.0 per cent of the managerial group are from more than 200 miles. (See Figure 3.8.) A slightly lower proportion of sales and clerical workers came from these distances, and a yet more

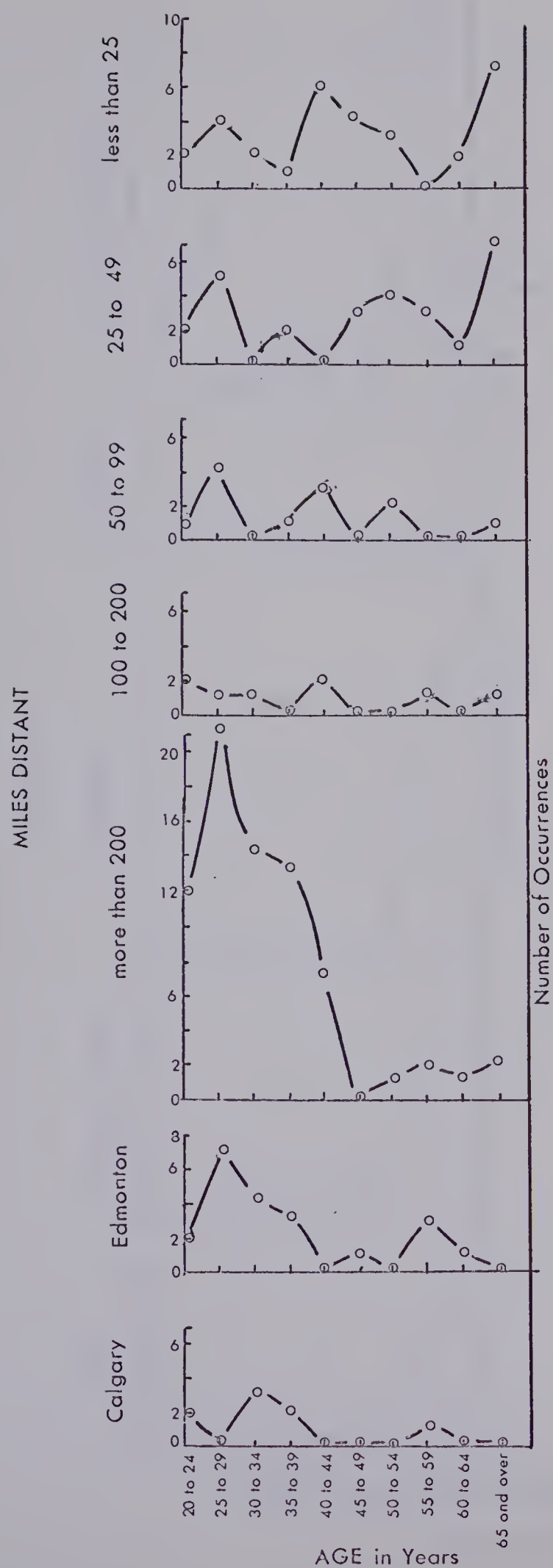


Figure 5.7

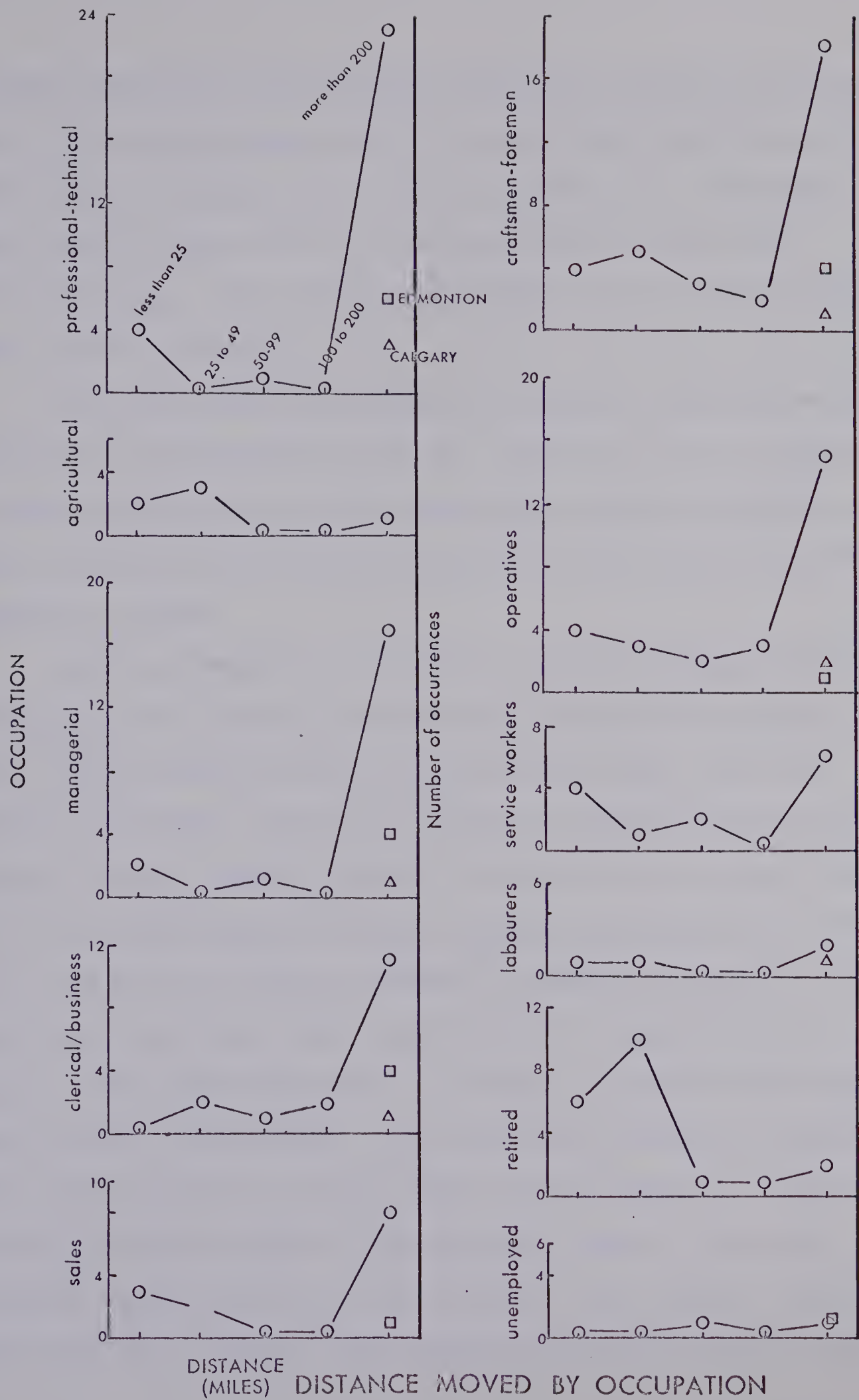


Figure 5.8

moderate percentage of the craftsmen-foremen and operatives travelled as far. The latter two groups exhibit the most uniform distribution of their migrants throughout the distance classification. Those occupations requiring fewer skills are generally held by migrants from shorter distances. Also, those in agriculture and the retired usually moved less than 50 miles.

The major occupations represented by migrants from Edmonton and Calgary are the professional-technical, the clerical, and the managerial. At least one half of each of the professional-technical, managerial, and sales workers came from distances greater than 200 miles, but not from Edmonton or Calgary.

Another perspective, the location of origin, displays much the same pattern with respect to occupations of the head of the migrant unit. Those coming from within the Peace region tended to be the retired, the farmers, and those in occupations requiring generally low levels of special training. Almost one quarter of those coming from outside the Peace region, but within Alberta, are professional or technical, and about one fifth are engaged in managerial occupations. The ratios are considerably higher than those for the migrant group as a whole. A much higher proportion of craftsmen and foremen than average come from out of the province. The percentage of managerial employees from outside Alberta is less than might have been expected. Since most of this group moved because of job transfers, choice of destination and therefore journey type were not the decision of the migrant. Also, since most of the transfers are in-province, the role of Alberta-based

companies and their expansion into a newly developing industrial area is postulated to be significant. Of those coming to the area from outside Canada, one half were employed in each of the more skilled and less skilled occupations.

The most frequently occupied cells were the retired from in the Peace, the in-province professional-technical group, craftsmen and foremen from the Peace, and the managerial group from within Alberta. In general, those from out of the province tend to be in the occupations dominating the structure of the place of destination, probably a result of their knowledge, from greater distances, of these types of job opportunities.

Since almost the entire retired group and the migrants over 60 are accounted for by the migrant type retired-over 60 years old, little variation in the pattern of the migrant type with reference to the overall groups will be evident when considering distance moved, or size and location of the place of origin.

Of the professional-technical migrant 25 to 29 years old, however, a lower proportion than in the overall occupational group and the overall age-group travelled less than 50 miles. Correspondingly, a greater proportion of the migrant type came from over 200 miles away. Ten of eleven members of this migrant type came more than 200 miles. Thirty-five and seven-tenths per cent of the craftsmen-foremen type were from within 50 miles. This is somewhat higher than the percentage for the occupational and age-groups as wholes. Thus, it appears that this migrant type typically travels a shorter distance than others in

his age-group and occupation. This migrant type does, however, exhibit the greatest spread of distance travelled.

The proportion of operatives from long distances is lower for the whole occupational group than for its members who are 20 to 29 years old; hence, younger operative workers seem to be prone to move farther than older members of the group. Only 18.8 per cent of the migrant type moved from within 50 miles, but 25.9 per cent of the total occupational group belonged to this category.

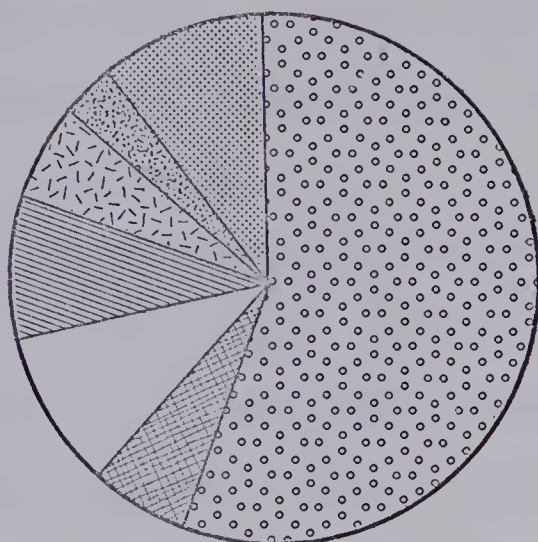
Trends for the managerial migrant type follow closely those for the whole occupational class, since most of those 35 to 40 year-old in-migrants are managers, and vice-versa.

Permanency

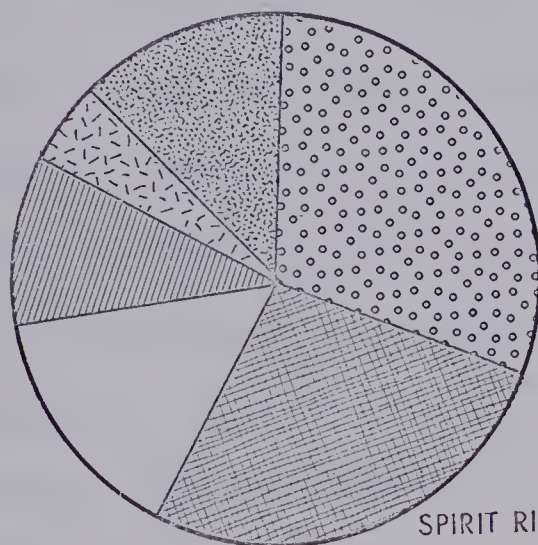
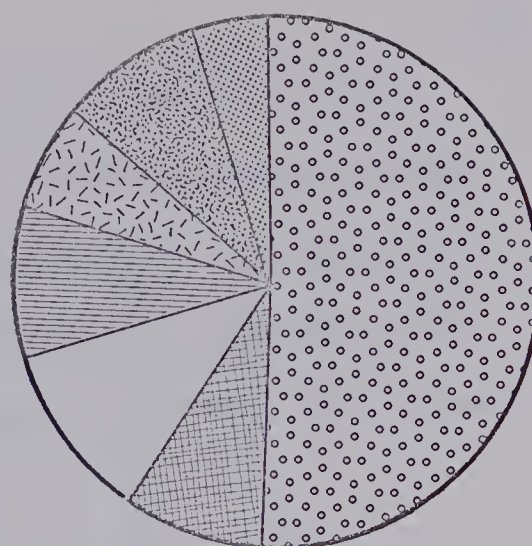
A final aspect of migration, and one having substantial impact through the effects of migration on the character of a place, is the degree to which a move is regarded as permanent. A question to this end was asked of all the interviewees, and the responses were grouped into seven categories which seemed distinctive and to indicate the variation in degree to which the migrants considered their move a final one. Of the total sample, 50.5 per cent said that they do intend to remain in the centre in which they were resident. (See Figure 5.9.) Those who were uncertain accounted for 11.0 per cent of the migrants. For the remainder, a negative component was implicit in their responses. Although only 8.2 per cent said they did not intend to stay, a further 7.1 per cent had plans to leave. Four and four-tenths per cent of the

INTENT TO REMAIN

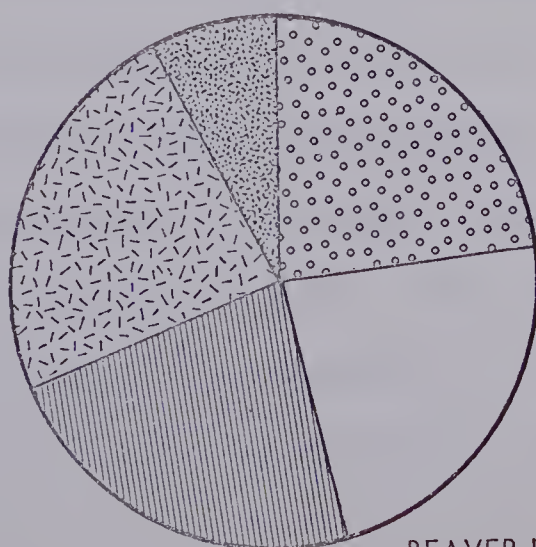
GRANDE PRAIRIE



OVERALL



SPIRIT RIVER



BEAVER LODGE

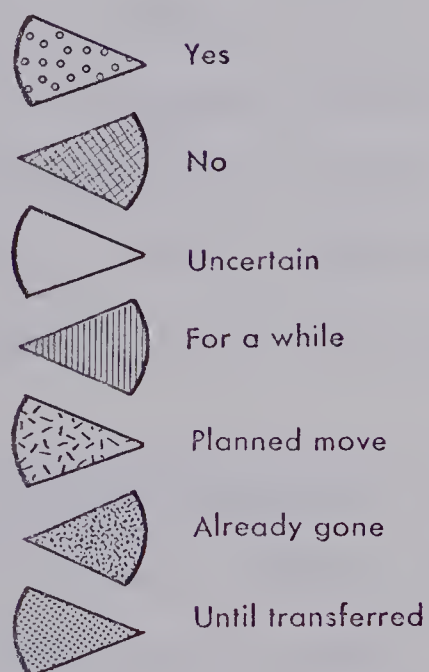


Figure 5.9

migrants sampled had already moved away and were contacted by mail. Many more of the original sample who were not contacted had apparently moved away from the sample town and were not traceable. The two other categories of answers bearing negative inferences were those who said they would stay until transferred (8.8 per cent), and those who answered "for a while" (9.9 per cent).

How these proportions vary with characteristics of the migrants has implications for the structure of the town with regard to the volume of people of a given type in the town, with regard to the potential of the town to attract migrants of a given type, and with reference to the attitude of the resident who does not contemplate permanent residence in the town. If it can be said that 38.5 per cent of the in-migrants during the study period do not intend to remain in the town of their residence, it must be concluded that the in-migrant population is, in substantial part, a transient one, and that the town is viewed largely as a "stepping stone." Consideration of intent to remain and certain characteristics of the migrants will determine for which groups this is true.

Fewer migrants in professional and technical occupations than for the total migrant group stated that their intent was to remain at the destination of their last migration. Many more than the overall average replied "for a while" and more than average were planning a move and had already moved. (See Figure 5.10.) This group thus qualifies as one for whom the move to the area is a temporary "plateau." For those in clerical occupations, the pattern is yet more pronounced,

INTENT TO REMAIN BY OCCUPATION

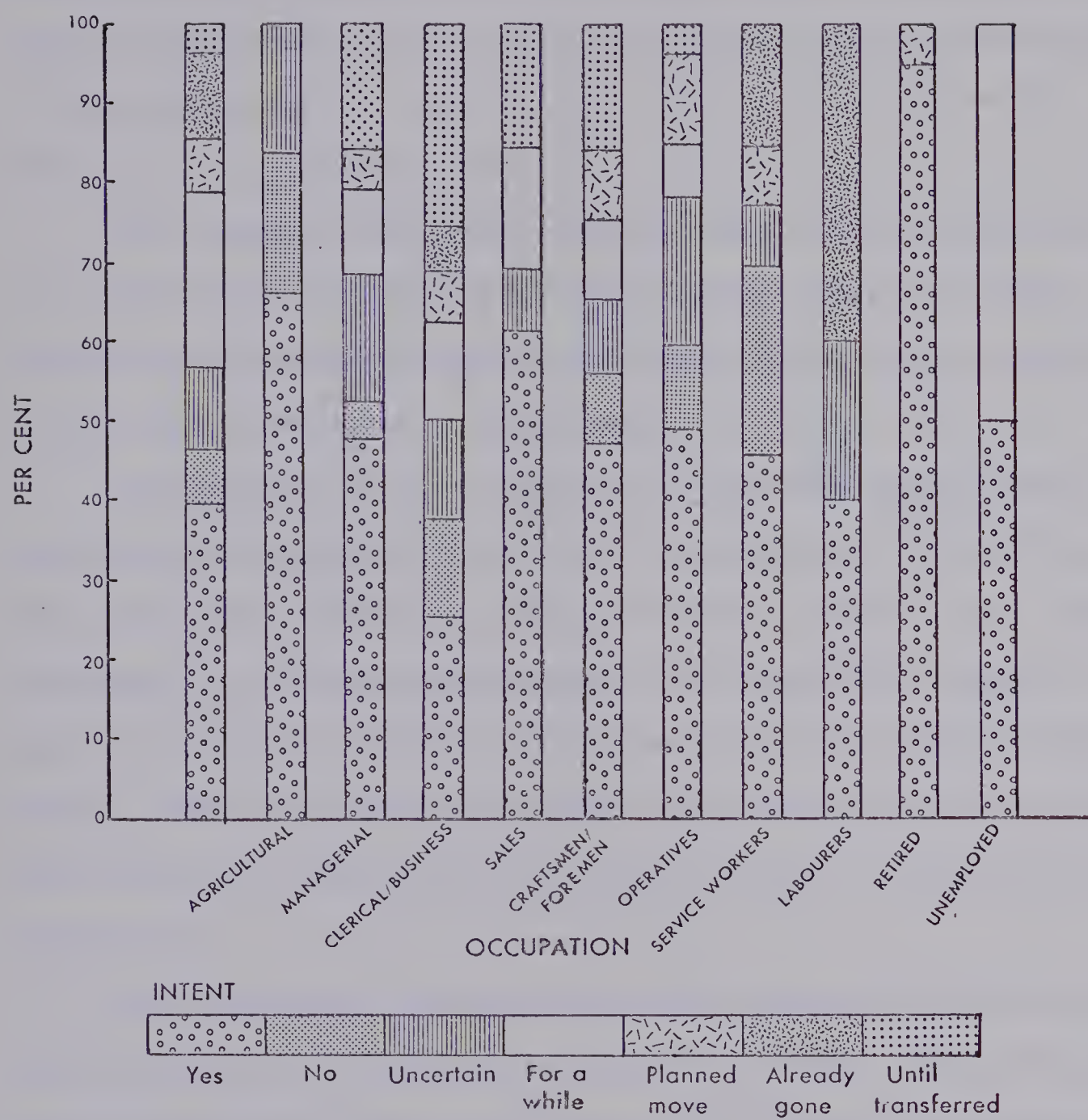


Figure 5.10

only 25.0 per cent of these migrants intending to remain. A greater proportion, due in part to the nature of their work, will stay until they are transferred. Fewer, however, have moved or have definite plans to move; thus there can be postulated a slower rate of turnover of people in this occupational group.

The managerial group show a greater propensity to remain than the professional-technical group. Those who will stay until transferred are an important sub-group, reflecting the substantial proportion of those people who moved for that reason.

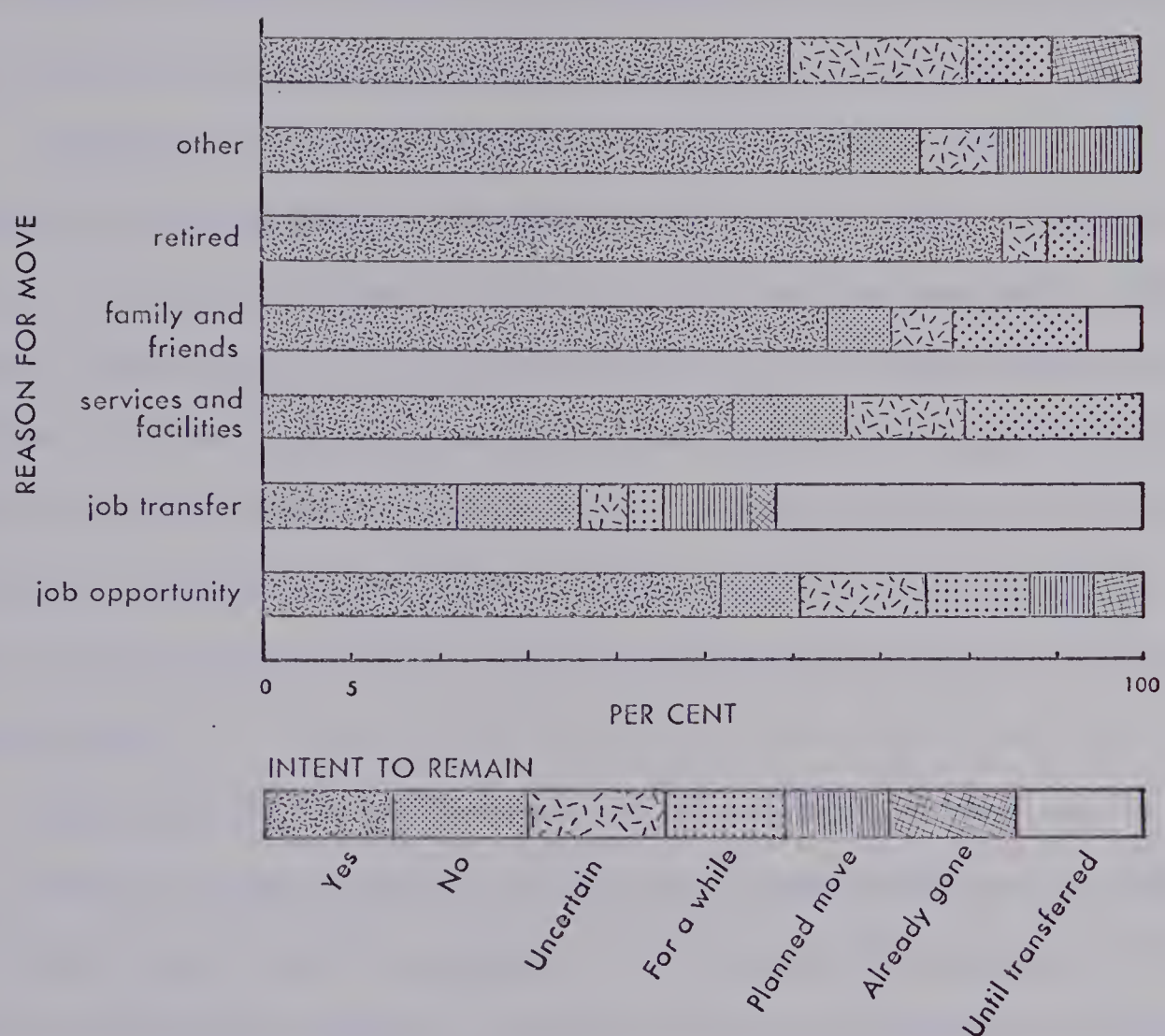
Approximately the same proportion of craftsmen-foremen and of operatives as managers have intentions of remaining at their destination. The nature of their occupations dictates, however, that a large percentage of craftsmen-foremen expect to be transferred, whereas a very small group of operatives will probably leave the towns for this reason. Nearly one fifth of the operatives said they were uncertain of their intentions, and 11.1 per cent planned to leave, although none had yet done so.

The occupational category whose members seem most likely to leave and whose stay is the shortest is the service workers. Twenty-three and one-tenth per cent of those interviewed do not intend to stay and 15.4 per cent had already gone.

Those in sales occupations show a greater tendency to remain than does the overall group of migrants, and none reported that they do not intend to stay. Transfers were again significant to the probable permanency of these migrants. Agriculturally occupied in-migrants, and the

retired manifest the greatest propensity to become permanent residents of the study area in which they were living. These are usually the older in-migrants, whose move is less often for economic benefit than for social gain.

The relations between reasons for moving and intent to remain in the place of destination should clarify some further facets of the nature of the move. (See Figure 5.11.) Those who show the greatest intent to remain moved because they retired. Eighty-four and two-tenths per cent considered their town of residence to be permanent, and none either said they did not intend to stay or had already left. Two thirds of those whose reasons for moving were classified as personal and almost the same proportion of those who moved to be near family intend to remain. Those least likely to stay are the group who moved because of a job transfer, and it is here that the distinction between those moving for job opportunity and job transfers becomes important, as more than twice as many who moved for job opportunity as who were transferred intend to remain. Those transferred, as well as exhibiting less propensity to stay, appear to be relatively short-term residents--13.9 per cent do not intend to stay, 11.1 per cent are planning to leave, and 2.8 per cent have already gone. More than two fifths will stay until transferred again. The three most frequently occupied cells in the cross-tabulation of reasons for moving and intent to remain encompass the views of 38.3 per cent of the sampled in-migrants. The highest frequency is for the combination of those moving for jobs and intending to remain (20.6 per cent). The second and third, having approximately equal numbers of occurrences, are



INTENT TO REMAIN
BY REASON FOR MOVING

Figure 5.11

the retired group who will stay, and those waiting for a job transfer, who originally came for this reason.

Within the five migrant types identified, some variations from the norm suggest certain trends. Virtually all the retired-over 60 years group expect to stay in their place of destination, as is true for the retired group in general, and those in the upper age-groups.

Professional-technical migrants 25 to 29 years exhibit less tendency to remain than this occupational group as a whole. Whereas 39.3 per cent of the migrants in this occupational category as a whole intend to stay, only 18.2 per cent of those 25 to 29 years expect to be permanent residents of the community. In addition, 45.5 per cent have left or have made plans to leave. All professional-technical workers having left already or with plans to leave are 25 to 29 years of age. Hence, it seems that it is the younger professional-technical group who is more mobile.

Approximately the same proportion of craftsmen-foremen in the 25 to 29 year age category intend to remain as in the category as a whole. This migrant type exhibits a pattern of intention similar to that of the entire occupational category; thus, the 25 to 29 year members represent the attitudes of the group.

One third of the operative workers aged 20 to 29 expect to remain in their place of destination, a somewhat lower proportion than for the overall occupational group. A greater percentage are both uncertain and have plans to leave. Like the professional-technical group, then, the younger appear to be more mobile.

Among the managerial workers of 35 to 40 years, 10 per cent indicated their intention was to remain. This is in marked contrast to the 47.4 per cent of this occupational category as a whole who answered the same way. The difference in proportion must therefore be attributable to the older migrants in this occupational group. It is construed, then, that it is the younger managers who see their move as a temporary one. Seven of eight job transferees responding positively regarding their intention to remain were members of the older migrant type.

When distance moved is compared with intentions to remain, it can be very generally said that proportionately those who move farthest are less certain of remaining than those coming from short distances. (See Figure 5.12.) Transfers, planned moves, and those who have already left become important only for those who moved from more than fifty miles away. It is interesting that those from within 25 miles exhibit less certainty of becoming permanent residents than those who moved 25 to 50 miles.

Occurrences in three cells are sufficient in number to account for 38.3 per cent of the in-migrants. These cells all represent migrants who intend to stay, combined, in order of frequency of occurrence, with those from more than 200 miles away (except Edmonton and Calgary); those from 25 to 50 miles away; and those from less than 25 miles distant.

Conclusions

The sample towns have not been considered individually in this chapter since the sample size in both Spirit River and Beaverlodge was

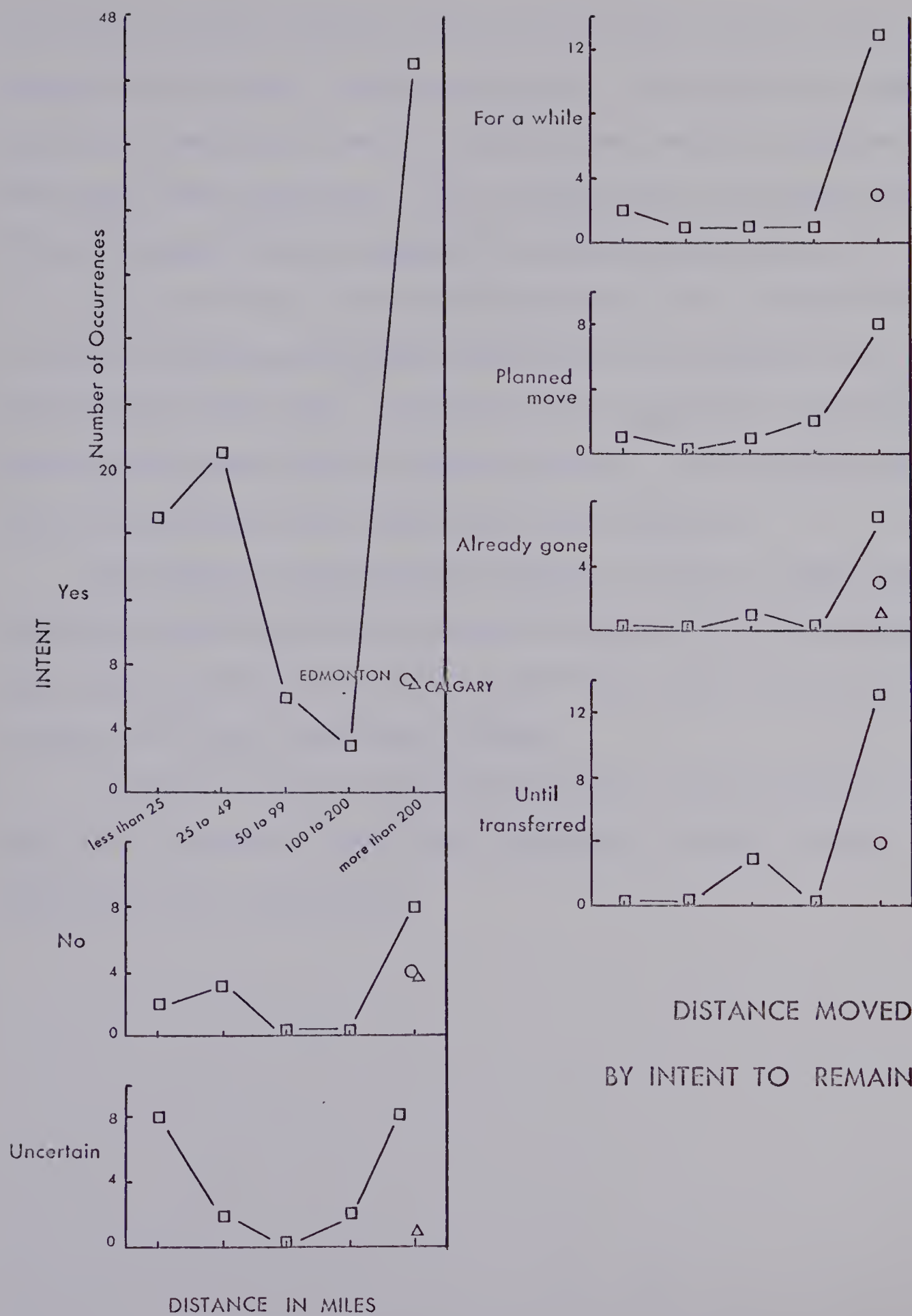


Figure 5.12

too small to produce adequate levels of significance from the cross-tabulation of variables. Significant results were obtained for Grande Prairie, but variations from the overall pattern were not sufficient to necessitate their explanation. This is due in part to the heavy contribution of Grande Prairie in-migrants to the total sample size.

In a general way, the relative importance of the economic motive in migration decisions decreased with the age of the migrant, but increased with family size. It was also more important to those who completed high school than to those who did not. For the latter group, family and facilities were comparatively more important.

The younger, the more highly educated, and those in higher status occupations tended to move the greatest distances of all the migrants. Those whose migration was from within the "Peace" were often the retired, or those with little specialized training.

Consistent with the trends observed above, young migrants in high status occupations exhibit less propensity to remain in their destination than older migrants.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing discussions and analysis of the data, several broader conclusions can be drawn out in reference to the statements made in Chapter I.

That migration to the study area is selective of the total population from which the migrants are drawn is substantiated. Differences in the age structure of the migrant population and the Canadian population are significant at the .001 level, the migrant population being distinctly younger. Sixty-five and one-tenth per cent of the migrants were less than 40 years of age, whereas 44.5 per cent of the Canadian adult population were in this age category. The five-year age-group into which adult migrants most commonly fall is the 25 to 29 year age-group, and 65.1 per cent of the migrants are between 20 and 39. A substantial number and percentage of the migrant group, however, were more than 60 years of age (11.6 per cent).

The migrants as a group also differ significantly from the Canadian population in their family size. A greater proportion of in-migrants than the total population have either no children or three or four children. A much smaller proportion, however, have large families (five or more children). The observed structure of family sizes is thought to be in part a reflection of the age structure of the migrants, although the decreased propensity of people having larger families to take the risks involved in a migration is postulated. Knowledge of the economic

situation of such families prior to moving might be helpful in interpreting their observed migration patterns.

The occupational group most commonly filled by in-migrants is the craftsmen-foremen category (17.6 per cent). Substantial numbers of migrants also work as operatives (14.8 per cent), and in professional and technical occupations (15.4 per cent). Changes in occupation with migration were noted for 47.5 per cent of the sample group. A large proportion of migrants were in agricultural occupations before moving, but few remained there after the migration. Many retired or took operative or labouring occupations.

Five major kinds of migrants to the study towns could be distinguished on the basis of age and occupation characteristics. They accounted for 37.2 per cent of the sample in-migrants. These groups exhibited regularities concerning other facets of their migrations which, though not necessarily unique to them, aid in describing the migrant types.

Type 1

Those migrants over 60 years who are retired comprise the first migrant type and describe 9.8 per cent of the migrants sampled. They generally moved because they retired and intend to remain in their place of destination. They chose their destination for a variety of reasons, but most often for its services and facilities, its amenities or family and friends. Most members of this type are from less than 50 miles away and from places of less than 500 population, though this

latter characteristic is not confirmed at the .05 level of significance. They are also most often from within the Peace River Region.

Type 2

Six per cent of the migrants to the study towns are professionally or technically employed and are from 25 to 29 years of age. They show less inclination to remain permanently at their destination and usually move for job opportunity. Their place of destination is chosen for this reason. In almost every instance, these migrants travel more than 500 miles when they move, coming from both in (55.5 per cent) and out (36.4 per cent) of the province. They also tend to be from larger places, often those of more than 100,000 population. For these migrants, the move appears to represent a "stepping stone" toward a further goal, and the effect of these people on the town will be conditioned by this factor. Their structural impact on the economy of the town of destination may be more lasting and therefore greater than their social impact because of their higher incomes and resulting higher levels of demand. Although presumably the social impact will be transmitted through the replacement in-migrants, the economic impact may spread further through the echelons of the town than will the social. Social impact is to a greater extent dependent upon the individual, whereas economic impact arises through the characteristics of the group to which the individual belongs.

Type 3

The third distinguishable migrant type is the 25 to 29 year old

craftsmen-foremen group, accounting for 7.7 per cent of the sampled immigrants. These migrants move primarily for job opportunities or transfers and frequently choose their destination by this criterion. A sizable group (25 per cent), however, select their destination for the presence of family and friends. They show greater propensity to remain than Type 2, and their distances of movement tend toward a bi-modal distribution--less than 50 miles and more than 200. The majority (57.1 per cent) came from within the Peace, the rest of Alberta contributing only slightly to this type of migration stream.

Type 4

Operative and kindred workers who are between 20 and 29 years of age, another kind of typical migrant to the study area, comprise 8.7 per cent of the sample. They most often move for job reasons and 50.0 per cent base their choice of destination on this factor. A substantial number, however, move for family reasons. Only one third intend to stay, thus this group is potentially highly mobile and an interpretation similar to that for the professional-technical group could be postulated. This group generally come from more than 200 miles away, 50 per cent from outside Alberta but from small rather than large centres. Only 18.7 per cent came from places of 100,000 or more population.

Type 5

Those employed as managers, proprietors or officials and 35 to 40 years of age (4.9 per cent of the total migrant group) always chose their place of destination because of a job, and in 88.9 per cent of

the instances this was the reason for their moving. Seventy per cent of these migrants intend to be permanent residents of their destination. Most are from more than 200 miles away, but from within Alberta. Most were transferred from smaller to larger places, and none came from Edmonton or Calgary. Their migration might be explained as an upward step.

In total, these five types account for only 37.2 per cent of the total migrants. No other types can be recognized which contributed proportions equal to the least of these five. Some of the types could be widened slightly. For example, by including a larger age range Type 1 would include those retired over 50 instead of over 60, without destroying the other characteristics of the group. Such enlargement of the types might usefully be examined in future similar work.

Some regularities concerning the journeys made, the motives for migration, and the relationships between the migrants and those factors can be described.

An inverse relationship between distance moved and the volume of migration is evident from Figures 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5. Almost one third of the sampled in-migrants had come from 50 miles away or less, and by place of origin, more than 40 per cent came from within the Peace region. A considerable number of migrants, however, were from outside Alberta, the proportion of young migrants tending to be positively related to the distance moved.

Most journeys were from smaller to larger places, suggestive of the continuing trend toward urbanization. About 22 per cent were from

places having less than 1,000 people in 1966. Forty and three-tenths per cent came from places larger than 100,000 population. In general, people from larger places tended to move further. The power of distance necessary in a simple gravity model relating volume and distance of migration and size of origin and destination in this study is 3.6, an unusually high value compared with previously published results.

The most commonly cited reasons for moving were those associated with employment; that is, the economic motive was dominant. Other reasons given were for facilities and services, because of retirement, and for family reasons. The economic motive was also the criterion upon which most migrants chose their place of destination, although facilities, family, and proximity were other reasons given. A number of migrants based their choice upon what is called an amenity factor. This includes those who gave such reasons as "liked it," or "were here before." The presence of relatives at the destination is seen to be a positive factor in its choice.

In general, the younger migrants moved farther than the older, and moved for a greater variety of reasons. On the other hand, the predominant reason for moving given by those over 60 years was because of retirement, and almost all of this group moved less than 50 miles, and from smaller places to larger.

Those in higher status occupations tend to move more often for non-economic reasons than those in lower status occupations. The young also are more prone to move for reasons not associated with the economic motive--they are more likely to "take a chance."

Those having lower levels of training appeared more likely to move for services and facilities, and for family reasons than those with specialized skills. It is probable that they have "less to lose" in a migration than the more highly trained migrant.

For migrants with larger families, the economic motive was more dominant than for those with smaller families--again, the unwillingness to risk a move being reflected in the number of those people who were transferred.

Of the total sample, about one half regarded their move as a permanent one. By contrast, approximately 20 per cent have already left, had plans to leave, or said they did not intend to stay. The remaining 30 per cent were uncertain. The migrant population thus appears to be a fairly mobile one. Those least likely to stay are the professionals, the clerical workers, and the labourers, and in general those who moved for job reasons.

The proposed schema (see Figure 1.2) attempts to illustrate the interrelationships between the migration variables considered in this thesis. Two aspects of migration are distinguished in the schema: the migrants, and the move they make. Both are seen as a function of the reasons for moving, and together they determine the effect on the place of destination. The schema is successful in illustrating some of the linkages between the variables included. The complete set of linkages, however, is too complex to be meaningfully illustrated at the level of generalization of the schema. Also, because the variables considered in this study are not the only migration variables, the schema

oversimplifies the linkages and thus tends to distort rather than to clarify the migration process. In short, it poses more questions than it answers. In itself, therefore, it proved of limited usefulness. It did, however, assist in recognizing and organizing the large number of relevant factors in migration, and as such it provided a framework for this study.

The schema also suggests several avenues along which further research might be profitable. Better recognition of migrant types, based on migrant characteristics additional to age and occupation would enable the impact of in-migration on recipient centres to be better analyzed. The inclusion of questions regarding, for example, the migrant's source(s) of information about his destination before moving, his previous migrations, and the "success" of his move would be useful both in identifying migrant types and in relating other migration variables. Similar studies in other parts of Alberta would allow comparisons to be made between types of areas, and types and sizes of centres.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. In what year did you move to _____? _____
2. Where did you move from? _____
(Name of town, city, province, country, or farm, if farm, distance to and name of nearest town.)
3. Is this your first place of residence in _____? _____
4. (a) Do you have relatives in town now? _____ Were they already here when you moved to this city? _____ Which member of the family are they related to, husband or wife? _____
(b) If you don't have relatives in town now, did you have when you moved here? _____ Were they related to husband or wife? _____
5. (husband and wife)
What was your occupation before you moved here? _____, _____
Did you change your occupation when you moved here? _____, _____
What is your present occupation? _____, _____
In what industry are you employed? _____, _____
Did you come to the job? (Did you already have the job when you came here?) _____, _____
Have you had more than one job since you came here? _____, _____
If so, what other jobs have you had? _____, _____
If you are retired, do you do anything else? _____ What? _____
If you farmed before moving here,
(a) Did you have off-farm employment? _____ What? _____
(b) Do you still own your land? _____
(c) If sold, was it to a family member? _____
6. How many children have you? _____
How many are living at home now? _____

How many are living away now? _____

How many were at home when you first moved here?
before you moved here? _____

What are the ages of those living at home now? _____

7. In what five year age groups do the adult members of the household
belong? (15-19, 20-24, 25-29, . . . 60-64, 65 and over) _____

8. In what organizations do the family members participate now? _____

9. Why did you especially choose _____ ? _____

10. Why did you move? _____

11. Do you intend to live here permanently? _____

12. Have the adult members of the family all completed high school?
_____ If not, who? _____

What other training do you have? _____

Have you taken part in any retraining programs? _____

APPENDIX B

CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS

1. Professional, technical, and kindred workers
2. Farmers and farm managers
3. Managers, officials, and proprietors
4. Clerical and kindred workers
5. Sales workers
6. Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers
7. Operatives and kindred workers
8. Private household workers
9. Service workers, except the above
10. Farm labourers and foremen
11. Labourers, not farm
12. Retired
13. Unemployed

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